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12

THE  
PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN  
SOCIETY

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VOLUME XIII.





THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



REV. JOSEPH AUGUSTUS SEISS, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D.



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The  
Pennsylvania-German  
Society

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

AT

NORRISTOWN, OCT. 3, 1902

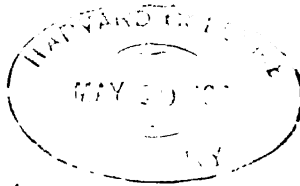
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JULIUS F. SACHSE, Litt.D.  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

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Index .....	3
Officers of the Society.....	4
Minutes of the Meeting at Norristown.....	5
Invocation by Rev. L. Kryder Evans, D.D.....	6
Address of Welcome, by Joseph Fornance, Esq.....	7
Response by Rev. Prof. Jacob Fry, D.D.....	9
President's Annual Address, Rev. Joseph H. Dubbs, D.D., LL.D.....	11
Secretary's Report.....	24
Treasurer's Report.....	26
Afternoon Session .....	28
In Memoriam .....	29

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### **Pennsylvania — THE GERMAN INFLUENCE IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT:**

PART XII. The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, by  
Howard Wiegner Kriebel.

PART XIII. American History from German Archives  
with Reference to the German Soldiers in the Revolution  
and Franklin's Visit to Germany, by J. G. Rosengarten.

The Picturesque Quality of the Pennsylvania German, by William H. Richardson.

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REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY  
AT ITS  
TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING  
HELD AT NORRISTOWN, PA.  
ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1902.

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**T**HE Executive Committee of the Society held its usual quarterly meeting, in the Trustees' Room of the Y. M. C. A. Building, 406 De Kalb Street, at 8.00 P. M. on Thursday evening, October 2, for the transaction of its regular business.

MORNING SESSION.

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society, was held in the building of the Y. M. C. A. at 406 De Kalb Street, Norristown, Pa., on Friday, October, 3, 1902.

The gathering was called to order by the President, the Rev. Joseph H. Dubbs, D.D., LL.D., of Lancaster, Pa.,

at 9:00 A. M. The Rev. L. Kryder Evans, D.D., of Pottstown, Pa., then offered the opening prayer.

INVOCATION.

Almighty God, Our Father in Heaven. — Thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations. Our fathers and mothers trusted in Thee, and were never disappointed — and Thou art to us, in Jesus Christ, Thy Son Our Lord, the same yesterday and today and forever. We bless Thee for Thy loving kindness and tender mercy in the years gone. We thank Thee that we are permitted to meet again as members of the Society whose Anniversary we celebrate today. We thank Thee for the piety, Christian integrity and patriotism of our ancestors and for what they contributed in treasure and blood towards making our country so great and prosperous. We thank Thee for the churches, school houses and institutions of learning which adorn the hillsides and valleys and cities of this our Fatherland. We thank Thee for civil and religious liberty — enable us, we pray Thee, to prove worthy of our precious inheritance. Bless this Society; and as we remember the days of old — brilliant with the deeds of our fathers — enable us to emulate their virtues and shun their faults. Establish Thou the work of our hands upon it; yea, the work of our hands establish Thou it. Preserve us from all self-laudation — from all narrowness of thought and bigotry of feeling. Enable us to recognize in every man a brother — Thine own Image and Superscription. Bless, we pray Thee, Thy servants, the President of these United States, the Governor of this Commonwealth, and all in authority. Be Thou the inspirer and guide of our lives. We would commit ourselves and our all to Thee. Send the years as Thou wilt, but do Thou come with

every one of them, and make each a step nearer Our Father's house on high. Forgive us all our sins, and keep us in Thy fear and favor. Give us a deeper love, a firmer faith and a calmer hope. Hear us, O Lord, in these our imperfect petitions, for the sake of Thy dear Son Our Lord, who has taught us to pray: "Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the Kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever." Amen.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

Following the invocation, the members of the Society were kindly welcomed to the city of Norristown by Joseph Fornance, Esq., President of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, who said:

*Mr. President and Members of the Pennsylvania-German Society:*

On behalf of the Historical Society of Montgomery County I have been delegated to greet you, and it is with pleasure that I serve as its spokesman to welcome you to our midst.

It is a happy event for the Pennsylvania-German Society to hold its meeting in Norristown as the guest of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, and we highly appreciate the honor you have conferred on us by coming.

Our Historical Society has maintained its organization for over twenty-one years, and it has done good work. It has awakened here an interest in local historical research. It has collected much valuable historical matter. Many



historical papers concerning this county have been prepared by its members, and a number of them have been published in permanent form by the Society.

We warmly commend similar historical work, and we appreciate the fact that the Pennsylvania-German Society has rendered valuable service in collecting and publishing historical data. We have read its publications with great interest, especially those that relate to this neighborhood. Two of these stand prominent, the History of Germantown by Judge Pennypacker, and the translation of the quaint narrative of Gottlieb Mittelberger, who, one hundred and fifty years ago, was organist at the old Trappe Church that you will visit to-day.

This locality is one of much interest to you as descendants of the German Colonial settlers. Norristown is on the border of a large territory that was settled by German immigrants. The northern half of Montgomery County was settled almost exclusively by Germans. Peaceful and law abiding, frugal and industrious, they contributed largely to the development of the county.

Among them were men of prominence and ability. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, and his son, Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, and other members of the Muhlenberg family, made their impress on the history of the country. Henry Antes, and his patriotic son, Col. Philip Frederick Antes, were leaders in colonial and revolutionary times whose influence extended far beyond this locality.

The merit of those early settlers is shown in their descendants. They are good citizens. Many of them have filled prominent places. A number of them have adorned the learned professions. Of the three governors of Pennsylvania that were born in Montgomery County, two of them, Shunk and Hartranft, were of Pennsylvania-German ancestry.

The foundations of the prosperity of this community in a large degree were established through the lives and labor of your ancestors. It is therefore proper that you should meet here to-day, and commemorate the sterling virtues of those hardy pioneers.

We congratulate you on your work as a Society. We welcome your coming here, and we hope your visit will be pleasant and profitable to you.

#### RESPONSE TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

The response to this kindly welcome was made by the Rev. Prof. Jacob Fry, D.D., of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, Pa.

#### *Mr. President, Gentlemen and Ladies:*

It is with great pleasure I rise to respond to the greeting we have just received from the President of the Historical Society of Montgomery county. We assure you we appreciate the honor of being your guests, and of holding our twelfth annual convention in Norristown. There is no fairer county in Pennsylvania than Montgomery, and no fairer inland city than Norristown, and we anticipate much pleasure in gathering here.

Personally I count myself happy in being chosen to respond to your words of welcome, because I belong by virtue of birth to Old Montgomery. While half of my life was spent in Reading in the adjoining county of Berks, and am now a resident of Philadelphia, I was born in the quaint old villiage known as the Trappe, to which the members of this convention intend making a pilgrimage this afternoon. In the old church which Mühlenberg built and beside which he lies buried, I received my early religious instruction, at its altar I knelt in confirmation, and in

its pulpit I preached my first sermon, while a student of theology, on October 3, 1852, exactly fifty years ago to-day.

In your address of welcome you made mention of the fact that a large section of this county was settled by Germans, and you gave them credit for contributing in no small degree to the prosperity which is everywhere apparent within its borders. Along the fertile valley of the Perkiomen, and other regions round about, they settled, built their homes, their school-houses and churches, and here they have remained and many of them have attained eminence and great success. Twenty-five years ago Moses Auge, Esq. of this place published a volume of biographical sketches of men who had become prominent in the history of Montgomery county. It included the names of one hundred and fifty persons, one half of whom were of German blood and descent. In other words, if his list be a fair test, of the men who have attained prominence in the history and development of this county, the Pennsylvania-Germans have furnished as many as all other nationalities combined.

You also stated that the upper half of the county was almost entirely settled by our German ancestors. So, when to-day we reach the boundary line of that upper half, on the ledge of Skippack hill, and look eastward, northward and westward on as fair a landscape as can be found in these United States, we will see what has been accomplished by Pennsylvania-German industry, culture and thrift.

In accepting your kind invitation to hold our annual convention in Norristown, and after listening to your words of welcome, it may be proper to state why we are here, and what are the objects and purposes we have in view. They

are four-fold, and may be styled investigation, publication, correction and association.

Our *investigation* is directed towards discovering whatever may pertain to the history, customs and achievements of our German ancestors who settled so largely in eastern Pennsylvania, and also partly in the adjacent states of New York, New Jersey, Maryland and the valley of Virginia. Hidden away in the closets and garrets of their dwellings, and in the archives of their churches and county-courts are many documents and relics, small and great, which are of intense interest to us who are their descendants, and which ought to be brought to light and known. To investigate and search for these — to gather and arrange them in order, and let them tell their own story is one of the purposes of this Society.

Another is *publication*. There is nothing in the history of our sires of which we need be ashamed. In the vintage our fathers planted there are no fruits which set the children's teeth on edge. We think it is high time the names and doings of our people should be brought from obscurity and rescued from oblivion. To this end the results of our researches and investigations are read at our conventions, and then published for the use of posterity. The volumes thus far produced, in their contents, their elegant illustrations, and the superior manner in which they are printed, are models of their kind, and form a series of books which any library might covet to possess.

Our third purpose is *correction, i. e.*, the correction of the many misstatements and omissions with which many so-called histories of our country, and even of our State, abound. History may be pronounced "his-story," and so it often is, and its value depends on the man who wrote it. Some of these "historians" either ignore our people,

or do them great injustice. The Pennsylvania-German Society aims to have this evil corrected by bringing forward the names and achievements of our fathers, and placing them in such light that it will be impossible for any reputable writer hereafter to pervert these facts or to put them aside.

Our fourth purpose is *association* or coöperation and fellowship. "It is not good for man to be alone," and "two are better than one." There is a charm and power in goodly fellowship, especially with those of your own race and kin. We come together from various localities to look each other in the face and become personally acquainted. We meet to compare notes, discuss problems, ascertain facts, and arouse enthusiasm in the work we have undertaken. We find it, therefore, pleasant as well as profitable thus to gather and greet each other in these annual conventions. The occasions and the objects of our association are alike agreeable. Our lines have fallen in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage. That heritage we hope to retain, and so we meet to do honor to our fathers and mothers, that our days may be long upon the land which the Lord our God hath given us.

#### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

The annual address of the President, the Rev. Joseph H. Dubbs, D.D., LL.D., of Lancaster, Pa., was then read.

#### *Ladies and Gentlemen:*

It is my privilege if not my duty to congratulate the members of the Pennsylvania-German Society on the success which has attended their labors during another year. On this occasion it is not too much to say that we have en-

joyed a season of unusual prosperity. Our numbers have increased, our councils have been harmonious, and we have been faithful to the purpose of our organization. To our series of historical monographs a splendid volume has been added; another, which it is believed will prove no less interesting, is soon to appear. It is therefore with peculiar pleasure that, as retiring President, I embrace the opportunity of bidding you all a cordial welcome to the twelfth annual convention of our Society.

May I venture to add that we derive special satisfaction from the fact that we meet in Norristown, the county-seat of Montgomery county, the *locus classicus* of our early history? In a certain sense most of us are strangers here, and yet there is another sense in which we feel at home. As Pennsylvania-Germans we have a pleasant sense of meeting where we ought to meet; we feel assured that our assembly will result in strengthening ties which are none the less real because they have not been generally recognized; that we will come to appreciate more than ever that we are partakers in a common heritage. Need I remind you that it was in this region that our earliest settlements were founded? Here Muhlenberg and Boehm first gathered the Lutherans and Reformed for worship; here Mennonites and Dunkards — though not as numerous as in the western region which they termed “Conestoga” — founded important settlements; here the Schwenkfelders, driven from Silesia by Austrian persecution, found after many wanderings a beautiful home. There is no part of the country which contains so many memorials of Pennsylvania-German history. At the Trappe Henry Melchior Muhlenberg lies buried; at New Goshenhoppen rests George Michael Weiss, and at Methatchen is the grave of Christopher Sauer. Everywhere, in all this region, we

are on historic ground, and we cannot help feeling that it is good to be here. When we leave this beautiful city we shall, I trust, bear to our scattered homes a precious store of recollections, both of ancient history and of present hospitality.

Every association to command respect must be ready to answer the question addressed to the ancient prophet: "What doest thou here?" Unless we can show that we stand upon solid ground — that there is a substantial reason for our existence — we can have no claim upon your sympathy or coöperation. We must establish our *raison d'être* before we can refer with confidence to our purposes and work. To express ourselves in German fashion we need the *Realgeschichte* before we can have the *Culturgeschichte*; we must relate certain facts which authenticate our position before we trace the development of our Pennsylvania-German domestic and social life.

That the Germanic races occupy the foremost position in modern history has never been doubted by those who have given their attention to the subject. In their very nature there is a migratory element which drives them to distant lands to become the pioneers of culture. When at the beginning of the Middle Ages history first lifts the veil, we behold Teutonic tribes moving hither and thither throughout the length and breadth of Europe. We see the Suevi coming from the East and, according to the legend, dividing in the center of Germany, one part occupying Sweden and the other Suabia and Switzerland, each preserving the title of the tribe in varying forms in the names of these respective countries. A little later we behold the Goths marching southward along the Rhine, until the Alps rise up to bar their way; and they too divide — one grand division to occupy the valley of the Danube, the other to



cross the land of Gaul and to establish the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain. Once more the shuttle flies westward and Clovis and his Franks establish a mighty empire. Finally, Karl the Great bears northward the thread with which he binds the Saxons; and thus the warp and woof of Germany are laid. With Karl—whom the French have called Charlemagne—the Germans ceased to consist of nomadic tribes, but their fondness for wandering continued. All through the Middle Ages there was not a great enterprise undertaken, there was not a single battle, in which the Germans failed to have a part.

If the Scandinavian legend is true—and we see no reason to doubt it—not two centuries from the epoch of Charlemagne had elapsed when the Northmen—themselves a Teutonic race—visited for the first time the coast of North America. “One day, while they lingered along the shore,” says the ancient saga, “one of the sailors, a German named Tyrker, wandered into the forest. When at last they found him he was dancing and singing for joy; then he came to them with a great bunch of grapes in his hand and said, ‘See, grapes are growing here as in my fatherland!’” Then they called the country Vineland. “An auspicious prophecy,” says Löher, “of the time—and with him thirst may have been the father of the thought—when the Germans should glorify the forests of America with wine and song.”

That the actual discovery of America was due to the expeditions of maritime nations we cheerfully concede, but the scientific studies which rendered such expeditions possible were chiefly Germanic. “Columbus,” says Riccioli, “would hardly have ventured on his voyage if Martin Behaim, the geographer of Nuremberg, had not shown him the way.” In the volumes published by this society

we have representations of the maps drawn by the Germans, and may read at length how Hylacomilus, or Waldseemüller, named the new-found continent. In all history there are no more fascinating pages than those which tell us of the achievements of German soldiers of fortune in Spanish lands. Unfortunately for historic purposes many of these heroes translated their names into the language of the country; but such men as Sebastian Rentz, Ambrosius Dalfinger and Philip von Hutten still hold a brilliant place in the history of South America. In Venezuela Bartholomew Welser, a simple Augsburg merchant, was for thirty years an absolute ruler, and it was the German house of Fugger that founded Buenos Ayres. Though their glory was short-lived and their language soon disappeared, "the German Communities," says a Spanish author, "became centres of light and culture." The first book printed in America, we know, issued in 1544 from the press of a German, Martin Kronberger, in the City of Mexico.

To rehearse these facts in this presence would be inexcusable if they were not so generally ignored by our foremost historians. How any one can in these days undertake to write our history without recognizing the works of Teutonic explorers, or the subsequent importance of the German element in the formation of our nationality is beyond our comprehension—the fact is in itself a proof of superficiality. How can any one relate the history of the Hudson's Bay Company without referring to its founder, Prince Rupert of the Palatinate? Who can minutely tell the story of America and at the same time ignore John Lederer, the explorer of the South West, and Ludwig Hennepin who traced the windings of the Mississippi, and Eusebius Francis Kino (properly Kühn), the discoverer, and explorer of Lower California and Arizona? In due

time the brilliant pioneers were succeeded by the toiling masses. They came in companies, but there was none to guide them. Refugees from a desolated fatherland — deserted by their natural leaders, received in this country with suspicion and tolerated barely for brawn and not for brain — this is surely the saddest of national migrations. Circling round and round, like swarms of bees without a queen, clinging here and there to some projecting point, only to be driven asunder and scattered through the wilderness. In our published volumes we may read how they starved at Coted'or and died of yellow fever at Biloxi; how at New Berne, in North Carolina, and at Broad Bay, in Maine, they were murdered by the Indians; how in New York they were oppressed and defrauded until the boldest of their number plunged into the wilderness and through unnumbered difficulties and dangers made their way along the Susquehanna until they reached a land where their brethren had already begun to assemble; and there as Whittier says, they once more sang "On the Banks of Swatara the songs of the Rhine."

It was in Pennsylvania that the greatest swarm of German immigration finally settled. A few Germans had indeed been here since the founding of the earliest colony. Peter Minuit, who brought the first Swedish ships — the *Bird Griffin* and the *Key of Calmar* — to Delaware Bay in 1638, was a native of the German city of Wesel; Governor Printz was a German nobleman, and when Governor Rysingh surrendered the Swedish colony to Peter Stuyvesant the terms of surrender were written in the German language. It is, however, to the invitation of William Penn that we generally trace the beginnings of the German settlement in Pennsylvania. He spoke the German language well, and three times he visited the fatherland. He

knew the people and cordially bade them welcome to his forest province.

To relate the history of the German settlement of Pennsylvania is beyond our present purpose. It has furnished material for many volumes and greater and more comprehensive works must still be written. Much of the story is lost, but by earnest labor much can be regained. It has, at any rate, been made plain that the pioneers were much more intelligent than their English cotemporaries supposed them to be. At the very time when letters were written to England describing the Germans as "so profoundly ignorant as to be unable to speak the English language," and as "fast becoming like unto wood-born savages," almost every German church in the province sustained a flourishing parochial school, and Christopher Sauer was conducting at Germantown a German publishing house which was by far the largest and most successful in the American colonies.

In considering the history of the Germans in America we are not surprised that in literature and art they have accomplished little; we are rather astonished that, notwithstanding their isolation and the difficulty of acquiring a new language, they should have been able to do so much.

Is there a branch of the church, a department of science, a section of the civil or military service, in which the Pennsylvania-German has failed to leave his mark? In the military service of the United States the seven German general officers of the Revolution, according to Rosen-garten, simply led the way for nearly three hundred subordinate officers and successors. Of the Governors of Pennsylvania since the Revolution nine have been German in the direct line of descent and several others have been Germans on the mother's side. In theology there is such

a galaxy of shining names that we cannot venture to enumerate them. "Welch reicher Himmel, Stern an Stern, Wer kennet ihre Namen." In science the names of Muhlenberg, Melsheimer, Gross, Leidy, Haldeman and Pepper are surely sufficiently familiar.

"Write the biographies of your great men, ye silent, backward Germans," wrote the great Herder, a century ago. "In this respect other nations are far in advance of you. They elevate their heroes to the clouds on the pinions of swans and eagles; ye suffer them to perish in the dust. The English, French and Italians are vastly more independent; they form their own judgments and are not afraid of the judgments of others. The consciousness that they have a fatherland gives them the courage which we lack." In its humble way and at a great distance the Pennsylvania-German Society is laboring in the direction indicated by the great philosopher. Like painters laboring to complete a gallery — like sculptors toiling over the insensate marble — we are striving to recall the heroes of the past and to present them for the imitation of a rising generation. If we gladly record the names of our national heroes upon the roll of honor, should we hesitate to perform a similar service for the most eminent of our own immediate people? There are many of them, and if time and strength are given, we hope to place a crown of laurel on every honored brow.

Concerning the important part taken by the Germans in the American Revolution George Bancroft has written: "Neither they nor their descendants have laid claim to all the praise that was their due." He might have added that there has never been a people which has been so grossly misrepresented. To add illustrations would be useless — are we not painfully aware that our people have been de-

scribed as exceptionally ignorant; that our speech has been called a jargon and our manners depicted as almost aboriginal? In pretentious works of literature our churches have been misrepresented; our colleges ignored; and we have been refused the page which we might modestly have claimed. Is this as it should be? It may be our duty to bear oppression, but we can hardly be expected to endure it without a protest.

It has been said that the Germans of Pennsylvania are themselves to blame for many of the misrepresentations of which they complain, and to a certain extent we reluctantly plead guilty to the impeachment. When our fathers arrived in this country they found that earlier settlers had chosen land that was easily cleared, and it became necessary to attack the forests that occupied the interior of the country. The result proved that the soil which had sustained great trees was best suited to agricultural purposes; but who can form an adequate idea of the toil and privation which the task of clearing it involved? For years they dwelt in comparative solitude. Separated from the educational influences of the fatherland, and generally unable to speak the language of their rulers, it is perhaps not surprising that their intellectual progress was slow, though there were among them at all times some men of intelligence and influence. In their isolated position, we know some of their national weaknesses became intensified. Conrad Weiser quoted scripture and told them they were "a perverse and stiff-necked generation." Delighting in their new-found personal liberty, they were ready to suspect everybody — even their own pastors — of a design to take it from them. Divided into many sects and cherishing many antiquated prejudices, concerted action in their own behalf appeared to be impossible, and their early at-



AN OLD PENNSYLVANIA FORGE MILL  
LANCASTER COUNTY ABOUT HALF A MILE FROM PEACHTOWN BLUE TOOLS AND HARDWARE



*Anti-German Society.*

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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

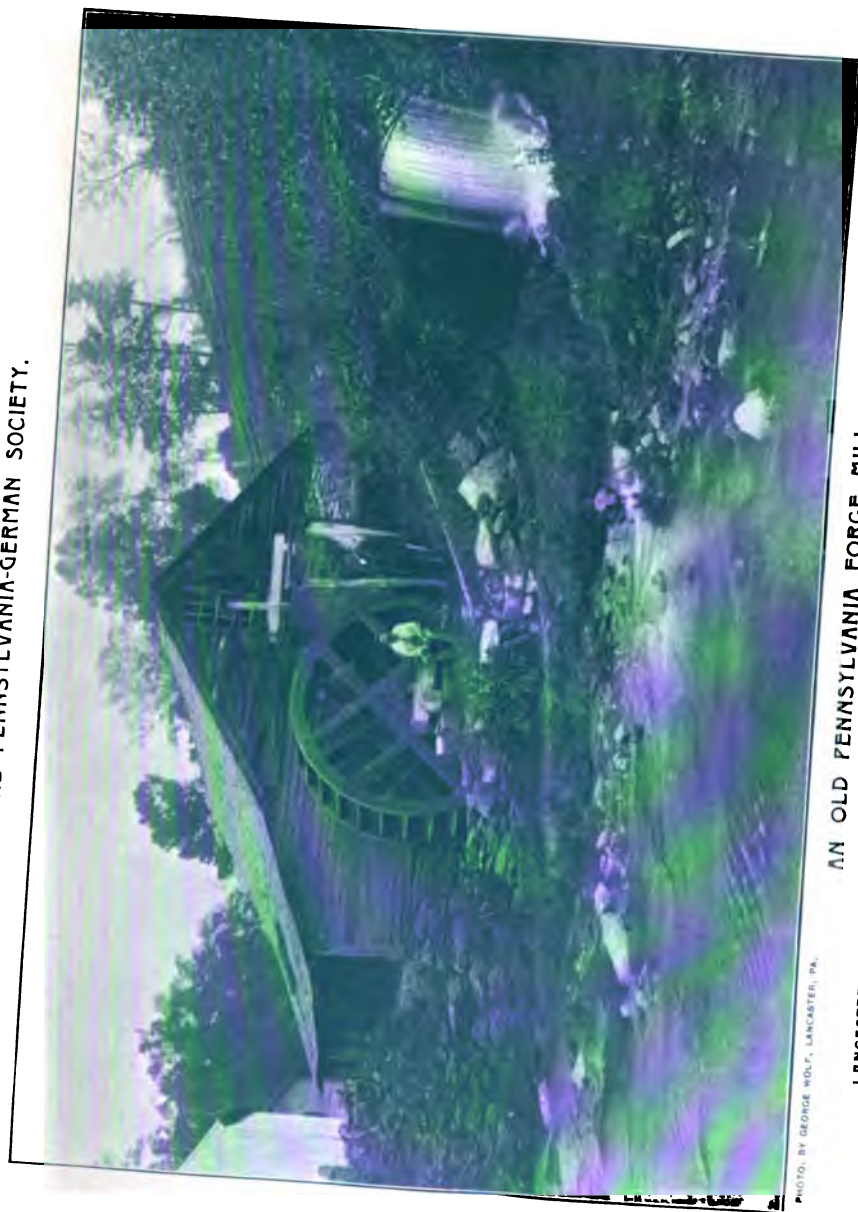


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AN OLD PENNSYLVANIA FORCE MILL.  
LANCASTER COUNTY ABOUT HALF A MILE FROM PEACHTOWN. EDGE TOOLS ARE STILL MADE HERE.



tempts to establish literary institutions were consequently unsuccessful. With the change of language in the schools the old sources of knowledge dried up before new fountains had been properly opened. Men became *adscriptus glebæ* — they entertained no higher ideals than those which the farm produced. Individualism became everywhere apparent in domestic and social life. Families cared little for their forefathers and old traditions were forgotten. There was little of the pride of race which characterizes the people of many other localities. An Irish boy who had entered college received a letter, enclosing a bank note, to this effect: "Tim, you are only my second cousin and I never saw you, but you are trying to do credit to the family and I owe you \$5 for that." Could a Pennsylvania-German boy by any possibility have received such a letter, at any rate a few years ago? Would he not rather, on returning home in vacation, have found averted faces among his earlier companions, and if he had listened closely he might have heard it whispered that the young cockerel was getting proud and needed to have his comb cut.

At one time some of us believed that German was the finest language in the world, and that it was difficult if not impossible to express profound thought in any other. We were no doubt mistaken, but I should rather err in that way than to follow the example of those who treat the mother tongue with contempt and prefer that their ancestry should be forgotten, as though it were discreditable to be of the same blood with Luther and Spenser, with Schiller and Goethe, with Kant and Hegel, Mozart and Wagner, Blücher and Bismarck. When will our people learn to appreciate the fact that if they would be esteemed they must esteem themselves. "Self-love is not so vile a sin as self-forgetting."

That there is here a weakness in the Pennsylvania-German character has long been acknowledged, and many of our foremost men have expressed themselves on the subject in unmistakable language. In such a matter, however, individuals can accomplish little. Organization is a necessity; and it was therefore an important step in advance when, on the 15th of April, 1891, representative men assembled in Lancaster to organize the Pennsylvania-German Society. To trace the history of this association is not our present intention. Like every other human institution it has had its trials and triumphs—its periods of depression and of thanksgiving—but altogether our course has been upward and onward, and on this day, when we regard the work which has already been accomplished, our hearts are full of rejoicing. True it is that at our annual meetings the element of mourning is rarely lacking. The founders of the society are rapidly passing away, and almost every year we are called upon to note the departure of one or more of our most distinguished pioneers. On this occasion it becomes my duty especially to commemorate the decease of the Rev. George C. Heckman, D.D., LL.D., which occurred on the 5th of March of the present year. Dr. Heckman, it will be remembered, was elected President of this Society at York, in 1893, and occupied the chair at the meeting of the succeeding year. Though it was not my privilege to be intimately acquainted with my eminent predecessor, I do not hesitate to say that as a pulpit orator, and especially as a master of English style, he stood in the foremost rank, and, surely, he was “a pastor after God’s own heart.” To his honor be it said that—though laboring chiefly among a people with other traditions—he was profoundly interested in the work of this Society and never wavered in his affection for the place that gave him birth.

In ancient times, when an eminent Jewish rabbi handed over to a brilliant successor his share in the composition of the Talmud, he said to him : " It is not incumbent on thee to finish the work." These words we may regard as spoken to ourselves. Much has been spoken and written, but our work is barely begun. Thus far our historic labors have been mostly general — it was all that we could do to give a general idea of its extent and richness. We have opened the way for the specialists, and of their gleanings there will be no end. The records of ancient churches which we are publishing may not be interesting to the general reader, but for the genealogist of the future they will provide innumerable delights. All over the State old families are holding reunions. These are delightful occasions, when good people spend a few hours in recalling traditions and reviving ancient affection. As years pass the love of family history will grow, and the people will not be satisfied unless they know all that is to be known concerning the sources of their domestic life. Here the genealogist becomes a necessity, but whither shall he turn for the materials of his work? With unremitting patience he will search the records which antiquarians have published — and how will he revel in their revelations!

Is not the annual convention of the Pennsylvania-German Society in a broader and more comprehensive sense a family reunion? We have been scattered far and wide, and have traveled on divergent paths. Old forms of speech are passing away, and we could not revive them if we would. Many of us can trace our descent to several nationalities; but, strange to say, the German line appears to be the strongest. Why is it that we cling so closely to the ancient stem? Is it not because there is among us an element which may best be expressed by the German word

*Gemüthlichkeit* which involves a heartfelt recognition of the brotherhood of man, and manifests itself in a certain geniality that renders life more pleasant? If this emotion — for whose name we cannot find an English equivalent — should result in smoothing down some of the angularities of our national character, will it not make us better citizens and better friends? It has been said that in this society the various elements of the Anglo-German life in Pennsylvania have been more closely united than ever before. May we not hope for results that will far exceed our present anticipations when we come to a fuller recognition of a common origin and a common aim?

#### SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Following the President's address the Secretary, H. M. Richards made his report for the year just ended.

#### TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

*Gentlemen:* Circumstances have prevented me from drawing up such a full report of our operations for the year as I might like, or you may desire, and yet all I could have said would only have tended to intensify my simple statement that the prosperity of our earlier years has continued with us during the past twelve months. Our progress has been constantly onward as well as upward to a higher plane of excellence and renown. The character of our membership, and great value of our publications, have given the Society a most enviable standing and world-wide reputation. Volume XI., though tardy in making its appearance, is now in your hands and speaks for itself.

Our membership has increased to the encouraging net total of 425. The additions to our ranks, for the year,

foot up 34, and we have been called upon to mourn the loss, by death, of 7, many of whom were amongst our most active members, and all of whom will be greatly missed by those of us who have been left behind to complete the tasks still lying unfinished in our hands.

Your executive committee has been most faithful in attendance at its various meetings, and has always given the welfare of the Society its most earnest thought. The result is sufficient evidence of the faithful performance of duty. While much and varied action has been taken, that of general interest may be summed up in the following items :

1. Dr. Charles F. Himes, of Carlisle, Pa., our late president, was appointed a committee to correspond with those members who were interested in photography, for the purpose of securing views of places, persons, buildings, etc., of general and historic interest from a Pennsylvania-German standpoint, thus perpetuating the same.

2. A beautiful Certificate of Membership has been issued suitable for framing, to which all members are entitled who have been in good standing for a continuous period of five years. The cost of the same is but \$1.50 and can be obtained through the Secretary.

In congratulating you upon the great prosperity now enjoyed by our Society, your Secretary and committee pray that the members will continue to extend to them their hearty coöperation, which alone can assure our future welfare.

Respectfully,

H. M. M. RICHARDS,

*Secretary.*

#### DONATIONS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY.

Life of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D.D., by William H. Frick, D.D.



Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. III., No. 1, by the Society.

Pronouncing Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary of the Philippine Islands, by its author, De B. Randolph Klein, Esq.

Collections of State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Vol. XVI., by the Society.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for January, 1903, by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Manual of the Pennsylvania Society for 1903, by the Society.

Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society for 1903, by the Society.

Life of Captain Gustavus Conyngham, by the Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the Revolution.

Proceedings State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its fiftieth annual meeting, by the Society.

Proceedings Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the Revolution, 1902-03, by the Society.

**TREASURER'S REPORT, PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY  
FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 1, 1902.**

During the current year there was received :

From Dues.....	\$ 955.00
From Sale of Books.....	231.00
From Certificates.....	6.00
Making a Total of.....	\$1192.00
October 26, 1901, General Fund.....	1199.21
Life Membership Fund.....	250.00
Total Debit.....	\$2641.21
Credit by Vouchers as Per Book.....	\$1758.72
Leaving a Balance of.....	882.49

General Fund.....	\$ 632.49
Life Membership .....	250.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 882.49

All of which is respectfully submitted by

JULIUS F. SACHSE,  
*Treasurer.*

NORRISTOWN, PA., Oct. 3, '02.

The undersigned Auditing Committee has audited the accounts of the Treasurer and find it correct, as stated. In the opinion of the Committee the Treasurer is not properly protected in the payment of bills, in view of which we recommend that vouchers for the payments of all bills be issued by the Secretary and countersigned by the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

S. P. HEILMAN,  
J. W. EARLY,  
IRA V. SCHOCK.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The election of officers for the ensuing year then took place with the following result: President, Rev. Joseph A. Seiss, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D., of Philadelphia, Pa.; Vice-presidents, Hon. Irving P. Wanger, of Norristown, Pa., Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, Pa.; Treasurer, Julius F. Sachse, Litt. D., of Philadelphia, Pa.; Executive Committee, Thos. C. Zimmerman, of Reading, Pa., Abraham S. Schropp, of Bethlehem, Pa.

The morning session was concluded by an able paper on "Early Educational Problems affecting the Pennsylvania Germans," by Prof. M. G. Brumbaugh, Ph.D., of Philadelphia, Pa.

**AFTERNOON SESSION.**

The afternoon session was opened with a most interesting paper on "Decorated Stove Plates of the Pennsylvania Germans," by Prof. Henry C. Mercer, of Doylestown, Pa., after which a most pleasant excursion was made to Ursinus College, at Collegeville, and to the old, historic Augustus Lutheran Church, at Trappe, with its Muhlenberg graves.

**THE EVENING.**

A most successful and enjoyable gathering was brought to a happy conclusion by an informal reception from 7.30 to 8.30 P. M., followed by the Annual Banquet, of which a large number of ladies and gentlemen partook. The music was furnished by the Norristown Mænnerchor, and the following gentlemen responded to toasts: Hon. Henry Houck, of Lebanon, on "Pennsylvania-German Humor"; Hon. G. A. Endlich, of Reading, on "The Language of the Pennsylvania Dutch"; Albrecht Kneule, Esq., on "The Pride of Pennsylvania Germans." Hon. Irving P. Wanger, of Norristown, presided as Toastmaster.



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# In Memoriam.

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**Samuel Straub Yohe.**

Samuel Straub Yohe was born December 1, 1851, in Bethlehem, Pa. He was son of Caleb Yohe, b. August 7, 1814, d. November, 1892, and wife Mary M. Yohe, née Straub, b. June 13, 1807, d. January, 1885 (dau. Christian Straub, b. November 7, 1777, d. January 23, 1856, and wife Regina ———, b. May 19, 1782, d. April 17, 1858); son of Jacob Yohe, b. (Berks Co.) June 3, 1788, d. September 18, 1869, m. Catharine, née Harman, b. May 17, 1790, d. March 17, 1864 (dau. Jacob Harman and wife Elizabeth, née Leisenring); son of Peter Yoh. His ancestors, on both sides, came from Germany.

His early education was obtained at Nazareth Hall, and later in Lehigh University. In 1872 he removed to Easton, Pa., where he entered the law office of the late Edward J. Fox. He became, eventually, Prothonotary, and served as a Court House official until the day of his death.

Mr. Yohe was especially prominent in the Masonic fraternity. He was initiated in Dallas Lodge, No. 396, F. and A. M., of Easton, Pa., on June 9, 1874, crafted September 1, 1874, and raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason, October 13, 1874. Passed to the chair April 20, 1875. He served as Junior Warden during the years 1876 and 1892; Senior Warden, 1877 and 1893; Worshipful Master, 1878 and 1894. He received in Easton Chapter, No. 173, Royal Arch Masons, the honorary degree of a Mark Master Mason, June 21, 1875; was received and accepted a Most Excellent Master and exalted to the supreme degree of a Royal Arch Mason, July 26, 1875.

Served as Scribe during 1878, as King 1879 and M. E. High Priest 1880. He received in Bethlehem Council, No. 36, Royal and Select Masters, the Royal and Super Excellent Master's Degrees, April 8, 1880, and the Select Master's, December 2, 1880; was admitted a member of Pomp Council, No. 20, of Easton, Pa., July 11, 1881. Served as Thrice Illustrious Grand Master, 1881, was elected and served as Most Puissant Grand Master of the Grand Council of Pennsylvania in 1898. In Hugh de Payens Commandery, No. 19, Knights Templar, of Easton, Pa., he received the Illustrious Order of the Red Cross, December 8, 1879; was dubbed and created a Knight Templar and was instructed in the secret of Malta December 29, 1879. He served as Captain General during Templar year 1881-2; as Generalissimo 1882-3; as Eminent Commander 1883-4; at Erie, Pa., May 27, 1891, elected Grand Junior Warden of the Grand Commandery of Pennsylvania, and, at Scranton, May 27, 1896, Right Eminent Grand Commander. He was a Representative to the Grand Lodge, Grand Chapter and Grand Council of Pennsylvania at the time of his death, and was buried with full Templar honors in Easton Cemetery on October 24, 1902.

His death resulted from apoplexy on the morning of October 21, 1902, his wife having died a few months previously. He is survived by a daughter, Edith, the wife of Mr. Xavier Veile, of Easton, Pa.

Mr. Yohe was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society on October 25, 1900.

H. M. M. R.

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**Hon. William Beidelman.**

Hon. William Beidelman was born in Lower Saucon Township of Northampton County, Pa., on January 17, 1840. He was the son of Daniel Beidelman, who was son of Abraham Beidelman, who was son of Samuel Beidelman, who was son of Elias Beidelman, who came to America in 1730.

Soon after his birth the family removed to Williams Township, where his boyhood days were spent upon his father's farm. After attending the township schools his education was continued at the New York Conference Seminary and the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. Having, later, read law for some time with the late E. J. Fox, he went to the law department of the University of Albany, N. Y., from which he graduated, and, in 1868 was admitted a member of the Northampton County Bar, where he continued his practice until the time of his death.

During the Civil War Mr. Beidelman enlisted in the 153d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, where he attained the rank of Lieutenant, and with which he served in the Army of the Potomac from October, 1862, to July 4, 1863, participating in the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.

In politics he was a Democrat. He was elected District Attorney of Northampton County in 1871, and represented this district in the State Senate from 1878 until 1882. From 1885 to 1887 he was Solicitor of Easton, then a borough. In 1890, after Easton had become a city, he was elected its Mayor and served in that capacity until April, 1894.



Besides various interesting historical letters, which appeared in local publications, Mr. Beidelman was the author of the "Story of the Pennsylvania Germans," most of the data for which book was collected by himself personally during various trips to Germany and other countries made for that special purpose.

He was a member of the N. Y. Geographical Society, the Jacksonian Democratic Association, Lafayette Post, 217, G. A. R., Dallas Lodge, 396, F. and A. M., and Hugh de Payens Commandery, 19, Knights Templar. He was admitted to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society on July 8, 1891.

His death, on February 1, 1903, resulted from pneumonia after a brief illness of but a few days.

H. M. M. R.



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**Hon. George Frederick William Holls,  
D.C.L.**

Hon. George Frederick William Holls, D.C.L., was born July 1, 1857, in Zelienople, Butler County, Pennsylvania. He was son of Rev. George Charles Holls, b. February 26, 1824, in Darmstadt, Germany, d. August 12, 1886, widely known as a philanthropist and educator, and Louise Burx, b. December 6, 1816, d. January 6, 1887, (dau. Gottlieb Burx, b. July 6, 1769, d. December 8, 1817), son of Ludwig Holls, b. January 18, 1796, d. October 26, 1832, son of Charles Heinrich Holls. His parents came to Pennsylvania, September 20, 1852, from Darmstadt, Germany. All his paternal ancestors, for three hundred years, were theologians or soldiers, mostly the former. His maternal grandfather was a famous artist in engraving (copper-plate and lithography). His other maternal ancestors were mostly of the military.

Dr. Holls was graduated from Columbia College in 1878, studied also at the University at Leipsic, and became a practising lawyer in New York City. He was a delegate-at-large to the New York Constitutional Convention in 1894, a member of the Peace Conference at The Hague from the United States in 1898, being Secretary of the American Delegation, and, more recently, a member of the International Court. He was the author of a number of books, including a history of the Peace Conference at The Hague and numerous lectures and essays on political subjects. The degree of D.C.L., was conferred upon him by the University of Leipsic.

His sudden death, from heart failure, occurred, on the morning of July 23, 1903, at his home at Yonkers, N. Y.

He was elected to Associate Membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society on April 12, 1898, and was continually interested in its work.

H. M. M. R.





THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



CASPAR SCHWENKFELDT VON OSSIG.

1490—1562.

# Pennsylvania:

## THE GERMAN INFLUENCE IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

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**A Narrative and Critical History.**

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PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF  
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

### PART XII.

*THE SCHWENKFELDERS IN PENNSYLVANIA,  
A HISTORICAL SKETCH.*



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

**Publication Committee.**

**JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.**

**DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.**

**HENRY M. M. RICHARDS.**

# The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania,

*A HISTORICAL SKETCH.*

PART XII. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

BY

HOWARD WIEGNER KRIEBEL.

ILLUSTRATED BY JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.



LANCASTER, PA.

1904



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**PRESS OF  
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY,  
LANCASTER, PA.**

**AN OFFERING OF THANKS TO GOD**

**FOR HIS UNSPEAKABLE GIFTS,**

**A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT**

**FOR THE EXAMPLE OF A PIOUS ANCESTRY,**

**A SLIGHT CONTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL FOR A**

**HISTORY OF GOD'S KINGDOM ON EARTH.**

**4**





## PREFACE.



THE following letter is offered by the author as a reason and apology for allowing his name to appear in the list of historians who have so well been telling the story of the Pennsylvania-Germans in the annals of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

“LEBANON, PA., NOV. 12, 1900.

PROF. H. W. KRIEBEL,  
Pennsburg, Pa.,

*My Dear Sir:*

I am pleased to inform you that our Executive Committee at its recent meeting in Easton selected you to write a paper on the “Schwenkfelders” especially with regard to their history in this Commonwealth. \* \* \* A declination under these circumstances would be a serious matter to us.

Sincerely yours,

H. M. M. RICHARDS, *Secretary.*

Thanks are hereby offered to the Society for esteeming the story of the Schwenkfelders worthy of a place in the

critical History of Pennsylvania now being published by the Society, for the honor conferred in entrusting to the writer the preparation of such account, for the kindness and consideration uniformly shown him in his labors. A general acknowledgment of indebtedness is also due and hereby cheerfully made to the various institutions and individuals who have aided the writer in the prosecution of his study and research.

This sketch is in some measure at least a pioneer work and thus has not had the benefit of previous publications refined in the critic's crucible. Its shortcomings are painfully evident to the author but he hopes that they may not discredit the more fortunate features nor the subject itself. No claim is laid to originality. As a matter of fact almost every sentence may be traced to some original authority, almost exclusively German. An honest effort has been made by the writer to give facts faithfully as found, to avoid drawing inferences or flattering fancies of the imagination. Should some kind reader feel that undue prominence has been given in the sketch to the religious and doctrinal phase of life, it is hoped that a careful perusal of the whole will satisfy him that to eliminate this feature would be equal to taking the Prince of Denmark out of "Hamlet," Christian out of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" or Washington out of the "History of the American Revolution." Footnotes respecting translations or sources of information have been omitted because in most cases the material would be inaccessible to the general reader. Neither did it seem desirable to note the misstatements and misrepresentations made by various writers.

The initial letters at the beginning of each chapter are fac-simile reproductions from the manuscript hymn-book written by Christopher Kriebel, 1765.

It is sincerely hoped that the present effort may induce a more thorough study of Schwenkfelder history and the publication of monographs on special phases of the subject. The reader will not forget that he is viewing the life of a simple country folk and that the thought so beautifully set forth in Gray's *Elegy* is still worthy of consideration.

“ Let not ambition mock their useful toil,  
Their homely joys and destiny obscure,  
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile  
The short and simple annals of the poor.”

EAST GREENVILLE, PA.,  
January 19, 1904.







## Contents.



### CHAPTER I.

Casper Schwenkfeld . . . . . 1-16

### CHAPTER II.

Schwenkfelders before their Migration to Saxony . 17-25

### CHAPTER III.

Schwenkfelders in Saxony and their Migration to  
Pennsylvania . . . . . 26-34

### CHAPTER IV.

Settlement in Pennsylvania . . . . . 35-54

### CHAPTER V.

Efforts at Church Organization, 1734-1782 . . . 55-70

### CHAPTER VI.

Adoption of the Constitution of 1782 . . . . . 71-79

### CHAPTER VII.

Church life under the Constitution of 1782 . . . 80-102

### CHAPTER VIII.

Relation between the Schwenkfelders and Zinzendorf  
in Pennsylvania . . . . . 103-119

### CHAPTER IX.

Secular Education among the Schwenkfelders . . 120-138

( xi )



## CHAPTER X.

Schwenkfelders as Citizens . . . . .	139-160
--------------------------------------	---------

## CHAPTER XI.

Private life of the Schwenkfelders . . . . .	161-182
--	---------

## CHAPTER XII.

Bibliographical Notes . . . . .	183-204
---------------------------------	---------

## APPENDIX.

(a) Draft of letter by Rev. Christopher Schultz . . . . .	206-219
(b) Marriage Contract . . . . .	220-225





## PLATES.

Casper Schwenkfeld . . . . .	Frontispiece.
Schwenkfelder Historians . . . . .	facing page 16
Christian Hohburg . . . . .	" " 24
Memories of By-Gone Days . . . . .	" " 32
Early Homes . . . . .	" " 40
Yeakel Cottage . . . . .	" " 48
Spinning with spindle . . . . .	" " 56
Schwenkfelder Homes . . . . .	" " 72
Church Architecture . . . . .	" " 80
Schwenkfelder Ministers . . . . .	" " 88
Church and Graveyard . . . . .	" " 104
Meeting House 1793 . . . . .	" " 136
Weaving Tape, Heddle loom . . . . .	" " 176
At Church . . . . .	" " 184
Manuscript Volumes . . . . .	" " 192
Sampler by Regina Heebner 1794 . . . . .	" " 200
The von Schwenkfeld arms . . . . .	" " 205
A Group of Nonogenarians . . . . .	" " 216

## ILLUSTRATIONS IN TEXT.

PAGE.	PAGE.
1. Head Piece . . . . . 1	8. MS. Title-page, 1745 . . . . 19
2. Arms of Liegnitz . . . . . 1	9. Emigrants afoot . . . . . 26
3. Schwenkfeld Title-page, 1524 2	10. Initial Letter P . . . . . 26
4. Frontispiece, 1564 . . . . . 15	11. Tail Piece . . . . . 34
5. Tail Piece . . . . . 16	12. Head Piece . . . . . 35
6. Head Piece . . . . . 17	13. Initial Letter P . . . . . 35
7. Initial Letter T . . . . . 17	14. Murder of Mrs. Schultz, 1750. 44

( xiii )

	PAGE.		PAGE.
15. Map by David Schultz, 1767.	46	37. Initial Letter U . . . . .	139
16. Head Piece . . . . .	55	38. Translation of address by Hopkins. . . . .	142
17. Initial Letter I. . . . .	55	39. Auditors' Report. . . . .	145
18. Editions of the Schultz Catechism. . . . .	65	40. Letter by Israel Pemberton.	147
19. Schwenkfelder Hymn Books.	67	41. Tail Piece. . . . .	160
20. Spinning Wheel . . . . .	70	42. Head Piece . . . . .	161
21. Head Piece . . . . .	71	43. Initial Letter S. . . . .	161
22. Initial Letter W . . . . .	71	44. Notes on Bible Study. . . . .	164
23. Tail Piece. . . . .	79	45. A MS. Hymn Book. . . . .	166
24. Head Piece . . . . .	80	46. Receipt for Mission Money.	173
25. Initial Letter A . . . . .	80	47. A Schwenkfelder Music Book . . . . .	177
26. Ornamental Pen Work, 1806.	97	48. MS. Hymn Book for Family Worship. . . . .	181
27. Arms of the Holy Roman Empire . . . . .	102	49. Head Piece . . . . .	183
28. Head Piece . . . . .	103	50. Initial Letter T. . . . .	183
29. Initial Letter M . . . . .	103	51. A Few Title Pages . . . . .	195
30. Wheel for Spinning . . . . .	119	52. Head Piece . . . . .	203
31. Head Piece . . . . .	120	53. Initial Letter A . . . . .	203
32. Initial Letter K . . . . .	120	54. Schwenkfeld arms. . . . .	205
33. Minute Book of Schools. . . . .	122	55. Vignette . . . . .	218
34. School Books, 1790. . . . .	133	56. Tail Piece. . . . .	219
35. A Relic of By-Gone Days . . . . .	138		
36. Head Piece . . . . .	139		

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



SCHWENKFELDER HISTORIANS.

OSWALD KADELBACH.  
1820-1882.

CHESTER DAVID HARTRANFT.  
FRIEDRICH SCHNEIDER.  
1806-1882.





## CHAPTER I.

### CASPER SCHWENKFELD.<sup>1</sup>



**C**ASPER SCHWENKFELD, the oldest child in a family of four, was born of Catholic parents at Ossig near Liegnitz in Silesia, Germany, 1490 (1489?), and died at Ulm, December 10, 1562. The family, which was of the nobility and could trace the story of its ancestry several hundred years, ended about two hundred years after his birth.

Taught by priests who bribed him with sugared cakes, he, as a Catholic, early learned to repeat his lessons of Romish praise and prayer; he later studied in Liegnitz and at Frankfurt, Cologne and other universities.

Having prepared himself for his station, though his general culture may perhaps have been somewhat limited, he, while yet a young man, entered upon the life of a courtier and as such served at several courts; first, at the

<sup>1</sup> Variations in the spelling of Schwenkfeld's name: Gaspar, Caspar, Casper, Chaspar, Gasper, Kaspar; Schwenckueld, Schwenckfeld, Schwenckfeldt, Schwenkfelt, Schwenckhfeldt, Schewenkfeldt, Schwenkfeld.

court of Duke Carl of Münsterberg, a grandson of King Podiebrad of Bohemia, where the views of Huss were upheld and probably impressed on his receptive heart:



TITLE PAGE OF ONE OF SCHWENKFELD'S EARLY LETTERS ADDRESSED  
TO BISHOP OF BRESLAU, JACOB V. SALZA.

later, at the court of Duke Friedrich II. of Liegnitz, as Hofrat or aulic councilor.

During his courtier life, which lasted quite a number of years, Schwenkfeld probably did not take a deep interest in the Bible, but, God having touched his heart, he withdrew from court life to Liegnitz where he preached and taught. Here he became an intense student of the Bible, theology, the Church Fathers and the Greek language. When the advance waves of the Lutheran upheaval struck Silesia, Schwenkfeld rejoiced; when Friedrich II. embraced the Reformation, Schwenkfeld heartily encouraged him and threw his own whole life into the movement, thus greatly aiding in the spread of the new light in Silesia, for which he received the good wishes of Luther.

The want of harmony between the theories of Luther and Schwenkfeld, recognizable in the two letters written by the latter in 1524, became an open and endless discord between the parties themselves a year later. Schwenkfeld saw that he could not agree with Luther in reference to the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper. Having talked and prayed over the matter with his friends he, after further earnest study and prayer, went with letters of introduction to Bugenhagen and Justus Jonas at Wittenberg for the purpose of laying his views before Luther both orally and by books and manuscripts. A talk lasting several days followed, after which Schwenkfeld went home in good spirits, to receive later a fiery letter from Luther in which, among other things, the charge is made that either the writer, Luther, or Schwenkfeld must be the bond-servant of the devil. The storm of persecution which thus began to show itself was destined, under God's Providence, to blow about the heads of Schwenkfeld and his followers for more than 200 years, and though on Penn's soil a refuge was found in 1734, its after effects may be seen and felt to this day. The system of doctrine which



Schwenkfeld had formulated at this time and which proved beyond doubt that he was a fearless, conscientious and profound thinker even then, was developed unaltered with the passing years and maintained unflinchingly in minutest detail to the hour of death.

Silesia at this time was budding into new life and a rich soil into which the seeds of the Reformation might drop lay ready. Schwenkfeld, although he had been repulsed by Luther, maintained his position by speech and pen both in public and private with the aid of his bosom friend, Crautwald. He thus won many adherents to his views and there was a promising prospect that Silesia, beginning at Liegnitz, would embrace the "Reformation by the Middle Way" as the movement under Schwenkfeld was called. Friedrich II. and nearly all the ministers of Liegnitz having embraced the doctrine, the University of Liegnitz was projected, partly organized and put into operation, soon to be smothered by adverse influences beyond the control of its friends. Opposing forces were at work at the same time, however. The publication of one of Schwenkfeld's tracts by Oecolampadius helped to increase the wrath and zeal of Luther and the Lutheran ministers against Schwenkfeld. The issue of Schwenkfeld's defense of his own views about the Lord's Supper without his consent or knowledge by Zwingli in Zurich in 1528 led the Bishop of Vienna to oppose Schwenkfeld in writing which in turn led King Ferdinand to serve notice on Friedrich of Liegnitz that he should punish the new teacher. To save his friends, Schwenkfeld upon this left home, voluntarily and not as an exile by the will of the duke, to live away from home and its comforts, from friends and kindred all the remaining days of his life. The letter of pardon which brought with it a chance to re-

turn to his home which was offered by the king, was not accepted since it would have implied that he should reconcile himself to the Church, its offices, regulations and sacraments, to teach only what the Church taught and to publish nothing without the knowledge and acceptance of the king.

Schwenkfeld lived thereafter in Strasburg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm and other important centers, besides visiting friends and staying temporarily in many of the free imperial cities of South Germany, persecution following him wherever he went. From Strasburg he was exiled in 1533; from Augsburg, compelled to withdraw in 1535; at Tübingen after a colloquy, peace and cessation from persecution were promised though not publicly proclaimed, 1535; at Ulm inquisition machinery was set in motion against him, happily set at rest, however, by the War of Smalcald. In 1558 he wrote that he was nowhere secure and that he could not move about without being in considerable danger. Decrees were issued against him, his books were confiscated and burned, his printers were forbidden to print, his booksellers, to sell his books. He was denounced in pulpit by priest and pastor, in church conference by almost every important gathering. Those who aided and comforted him placed themselves in jeopardy and at times suffered. Charges were brought by those even who by their own confession had scarcely seen his books or read them; calumnies were rehashed and revamped, nor could an earnest searcher after the truth investigate for himself because the literature was suppressed. The church leaders, from whom the persecution mainly emanated, seemed to vie with each other in reproaching, reviling, defaming, calumniating, condemning and execrating. He was called : Ketzer, Widertäufer, Sectar, Rotten-

geist, Reinengeist, Winkel-kriecher, Schleicher, Meuchling, Stenckfeld, Schelmen, Ertz-ketzer, Schwärmer, Verführer, Narren, Grillenmeister, unsinniger toller Teufel, Donatisten, Valentinianer, Entychianer.

And yet in spite of it all and perchance at times on account of it all, he could not be silenced, he could not be tempted to deny his Christ by doing an unchristian act, or by betraying what he believed Christ had taught him by His Spirit, the common people could not be incited against him, many princes and nobles defended him and had it not been for strenuous state measures, large sections of Silesia would in all probability have adopted the "Reformation by the Middle Way." He himself labored assiduously in the defense of his views. He preached, wrote, dictated to his friends, published books, and indirectly through his adherents spread his doctrines, trusted messengers carrying messages back and forth. When the printing presses were closed against him, loving and willing hands multiplied manuscript copies; when misrepresentations were made, he sent books, tracts and letters and sought opportunity to explain and defend himself. When his *Feier-Abend* drew near and the shades of night began to fall, Schwenkfeld's soul was calm, peaceful and at rest. No undercurrent or eddy of ill-will, hatred or revenge to others disturbed the surface and the grace of heaven was reflected from his entire being. As all through his life, he exemplified his life-motto: *Nil triste, Christo recepto*. He spent his last days as he had spent a long and useful life, in his Father's business, praying, reading, talking about his Saviour. Fully assured that his name was written in the Lamb's Book of Life, he committed himself into the hands of Him whom he had served so many years and thus fell asleep to awake in the land where there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying.

In attempting a hasty glimpse at the doctrines and motives of the man, it is well to keep in mind what he himself said of the aim and purpose of his life. In 1535 he wrote: "After God's gracious visitation some years since, I committed myself wholly to my Lord Jesus Christ and through Him in the Holy Ghost gave myself a living sacrifice into the nurture, training, and education of my heavenly Father. By His grace I do this now, praying the Lord to teach me to know Him and to strengthen and establish me in such knowledge unto the life eternal." Like the apostle whom Jesus loved, Schwenkfeld was leaning on his Master's bosom for doctrine, guidance, comfort, and, if we may judge him by his fruits according to the Saviour's rule, Jesus must have loved him. His life and theology were Johannine, Christocentric. The glory of Jesus was his master-passion: he and his followers were hence often called (perhaps partly in derision) "Confessors of the Glory of Christ." His doctrines were laid by him in earnest prayer before his Lord and compared with the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers. Building on Jesus as his Rock and Foundation, he evolved a line of thought briefly and inadequately stated (in part) in the following propositions which are drawn from and expressed in his own words and which touch the main doctrines around which the storm chiefly seemed to center.

1. The only thing needful for man's temporal and eternal happiness, his salvation, is the spiritual knowledge of Christ, the experience of the love, wisdom and power of God in the believing heart through the Holy Ghost.

2. God is a Spirit and works man's salvation through the only mediator, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, the Lamb of God foreordained by wisdom divine from the beginning to be the cause and ground, the

origin and end of man's salvation and not indirectly through man or the word or work of man as through channels, instruments or means of grace. Redemption and the Plan of Redemption are, therefore, the same before as after the Incarnation, with as without the historic knowledge of the Holy Scriptures or of Jesus Christ, in and through the inner, unwritten, uncreated, eternal Word of God, the Logos which was from the beginning.

3. Jesus Christ is the great mystery of godliness of whom all the Scriptures testify, the eternal, natural, only begotten Son of God the Father Almighty, the second Person in the Trinity from whom and the Father the Holy Spirit proceeds, true God and true man, undivided and indivisible as to His dual nature in time and eternity.

4. Christ's mediatorial office implies that God gives His gifts, answers prayer and receives into Heaven, only through Jesus Christ and for His sake, that the way to Heaven is through the body and blood of Christ, that He is the true throne of grace whence mercy comes, that Christ Himself is what He gives us, our redemption, our peace, our reconciliation, our sanctification, our justification, that in Christ alone can man lay off the sinful old nature and put on the holy new nature.

5. There is a duality in the nature of things which must be observed in all study of the Bible and religion. The one element is of the earth, physical, visible, pertaining to the kingdom of this world and the present life; the other is heavenly, spiritual, invisible, pertaining to the Kingdom of God and the life everlasting. The former explains, illustrates and points out the latter, but is not the latter and cannot produce the latter.

6. Jesus Christ being the Author and Finisher of man's faith, all true service derives value only from the inner,

spiritual element as the sinner hears God's Word directly from the Father and all true, public, acceptable service can and does only proceed from within outward. God is a Spirit and must be worshipped in the spirit by the heart and can not be adored by material things, services, or offerings, ceremonies or sacraments.

7. The Bible, both Old and New Testaments, inspired of God, written by holy men, profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction and instruction, though in itself dead, and without power to heal, vivify or save, and not understood by the unregenerate or the spiritually unenlightened, is, for the faithful in Christ, a treasure and mine to be prized over every earthly treasure. Its words should be read, reread, digested and meditated upon. Theology should be constructed from it and as far as possible should be expressed in its language. Faith is to be tested by it. Whatever is true, right and based upon the Word of God should be maintained and he who yields truth thus given, imperils his own salvation.

8. Sin consisting not only of the outward act, the guilt, weakness, want or defect of nature, the corrupt will or the heart purpose, but also of the total corruption, the innate uncleanness, the abiding inclination of the flesh to evil, came upon mankind through the guilt and transgression of Adam, who, after the creation, became disobedient and brought sin and death on mankind so that all are conceived in sin, born as the children of wrath and are by nature enemies of God and His grace and under condemnation.

9. Forgiveness of sin is not a mere non-imputation of sin, nor a mere remission of God's punishment for sin; it is also a killing, destroying and taking away of sin from the heart and conscience, removing all accusation and condemnation; it is a living experience and assurance of the

love, mercy, favor and grace of God in Christ Jesus, bringing peace and rest into the soul, love and joy into the outward life.

10. Man becomes a Christian and child of God when he, hearing the true Word of God, Jesus Christ in his heart, allows himself to be drawn by God the Father and through Faith to be regenerated; life, light, peace, joy, strength enter through the inner Word of God, effecting a beginning of the divine life and of the indwelling of the spirit of God. Jesus Christ is not only the mystery of faith, of the gospel and of the grace of God; he is also our example and perfect model whose footsteps are to be followed abidingly in the daily life. He who receives Jesus only as a Saviour, not as the Christian's model and ideal, has a dead Christ, a historic Christ, despising godliness and building on a fictitious faith founded on reason.

11. True Christian faith is a divine gift and power separate and distinct from all elements of earth or the works of man by which the sinner is transformed, regenerated, enlightened, and kept unto final redemption. It is not intellection, nor theorization, nor a mere conviction of the truth of the gospel or acceptance of the gospel or trust in the promise of God's mercy.

12. The true Christian Church, having Christ as its Head, is the Body of Christ, the seed of Abraham, the house of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple of the Holy Ghost, the City of God. In such body there must be oneness of Spirit, love, faith and knowledge, and all are brethren. The visible Church based on such inner oneness should be composed of Christians, of those who call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and who living accordingly do not reject Him in their daily conduct. Here the Spirit of Christ rules, protects, teaches, defends

and directs all servants and services. A strict Church discipline by which the erring are reprov'd and those who live in open sin are put away from the body of believers is an essential element in the work of the visible Church. Outward concord in law, doctrine, ceremony or sacrament does not constitute a Church of Christ, nor are these the marks of a church.

13. The primary and essential element in baptism is the inner grace of God through the pouring out of the waters of life. The other element is the washing of the body. Baptism of the body follows faith and is a confession of Christ before the world, a public reception into the body of professing believers, a visible sign of what the believer professes to have received into his soul, a cleansing and purification. In the Lord's Supper a dual eating and drinking takes place—the one is invisible which the Lord the Son of Man gives unto His own, the imperishable bread of life which is Christ Himself through a true and living faith; the other is visible and is called a bread of the Lord, which the Lord has commanded to be broken and to be eaten in remembrance of Him, by the assembled body of believers who through faith have communion of His body and blood. Christ did not establish the Supper in order that the believer might seek His body and blood in it, much less that he should seek forgiveness of sin, life and salvation in it.

14. The Church and State, belonging to distinctly different kingdoms, should be kept separate. The State has no right to force its subjects to adopt any particular religious services or belief, or to promote the use of the same by force of arms, or to kill or put into exile those who differ from the State, or to unite the sword of the spirit with the sword of iron or in the name of the gospel to



make treaties with foreign nations, princes and powers or to require its subjects or officers to be Christians or professors of Christ, or to build up or destroy any religious services, or to appoint or discharge the priests or ministers of the Church. The Church has no right to force the conscience of any subject through the State, or to seek protection for life or doctrine under the State.

The great aims in the life of Schwenkfeld were to make sure of the forgiveness of his sin, the regeneration of his heart and life, the acceptance unto the life eternal by his Christ. He never allowed himself to become guilty of any vice that needs glossing over, nor to speak or write a word even to his closest friends in secret that might not be uttered in the presence of the most refined ladies of any period. He was one of Nature's true noblemen who never forgot his manners. Through his whole life there ran a deep undercurrent of commendable earnestness, modesty, gentleness, friendliness, humility, reverence, playful humor, sincere piety, Christian forgiveness and a laudable desire to be helpful to others. The sense of the sublimity of the character grows as one contemplates that by gently easing his conscience, holding his theology in abeyance, attending church once a year and partaking of the sacred emblems at the table of the Lord, he might have enjoyed home, peace, rest, riches, and gone to his grave laden with the cheap honors the world bestows.

Christ having made him free, he would not allow himself to be drawn into bondage of any man or body of men and could not be brought to pledge fealty to any church or body of believers; neither would his genuine Christian spirit allow him to separate himself from any godly man, all souls being dear to him, who loved God and Jesus Christ and lived Christian lives. He could not and would

not play tricks with conscience ; hence whatever God gave him to see he maintained, nor would he yield a jot or tittle whatever the consequences might be. This was not lack of prudence or judgment but Christ-like fidelity to truth. He loved the Catholic, the Lutheran, the Zwinglian, the Anabaptist, the adherents of all the diverse faiths, all with whom he came into contact, and, separating person from doctrine, fearlessly and freely criticised what seemed to him the ecclesiasticism, externalism, worldliness and temporizing of the churches. Criticising all, though he was not prompted by any desire for mere controversy or for lording it over others, he laid himself open to assault from all and thus became the target for many a venomous dart, but he maintained throughout a hopeful spirit and felt assured that some day his views, which indeed were not his but those of his master, would be adopted. He felt that he was in the hands of a loving Father, that even the hairs of his head were all numbered and that, though the future was unknown to him, finally redemption would be his. He as a lamb brought to the slaughter and as a sheep before her shearers never revenged himself, never returned evil for evil, never persecuted. He blessed them that cursed him, did good to them that hated him and prayed for them that despitefully used him and persecuted him.

He stood aloof from church membership—not because he did not long for Christian communion, for his big heart had a warm spot for every Christian ; not because he undervalued the Scriptures, for he made it the test of all his teaching ; not because he rejected the sacraments or other Christian services, for he taught that the external in worship should be observed and made use of and not be neglected ; but because he could not assent to the doctrine of the “ means of grace,” because the patient, lowly spirit of Jesus was

not observed by the churches, because the Church did not do its work in the spirit of freedom, but in the spirit of bondage; because the churches persecuted him for not believing as they did; because the church used the sword in defending and promoting Christ's Kingdom and he could not take part in it, since it is the duty of Christians to withdraw from all idolatry, error and abuse in the service of God. Less than three years before his death he wrote: "I would rather die ten deaths than join churches that on account of their statutes and articles of faith, contrary to the Bible, the example of Christ, His apostles, the first Christian churches, and the Church Fathers, burn, hang, drown, or in other ways persecute in France, Spain, Italy, Germany and elsewhere many God-fearing and pious men who accept Christ and the Apostles' Creed and live holy lives."

He never organized or tried to organize the adherents of his faith into a church. Possibly he is open to criticism on this point; but to organize meant to fight, to fight meant to betray his Christ, to betray and to confess were in his mind diametrically opposite and mutually exclusive; hence since man's salvation does not depend on the observance of any external ceremony, he did not and could not feel any call to organize a body of believers in his name. Besides, to call a body of believers by his name was in his estimation vanity and to be shunned, but when the term "Schwenkfelders" as a name for his brethren became a term of reproach he raised the question whether it was not the duty of those who believed as he did to adopt the name, lest by Satan's trickery they should be led to reject the doctrine under a semblance of rejecting a man's name.

Space will not permit any consideration of the controversies into which Schwenkfeld was drawn, or any phi-



FRONTISPIECE FROM FOLIO VOLUME OF SCHWENKFELD'S WORKS BY  
THE FRIERABEND PRESS AT FRANKFURT, 1564.

losophizing on what the probable effect would have been had his spirit and attitude been assumed and exemplified in life by all those who were received into Christian fellowship or who took the name of Jesus on their lips in his and later times. It may not be amiss to close this chapter by quoting the words of Rev. Chester D. Hartranft, D.D., Honorary President of the Hartford Theological Seminary, the most eminent and most profound living authority on the subject. He says: "Schwenkfeld insisted on a new birth and a reformation of morals as preparatory to the reconstruction of doctrine; the restatement and development of doctrine was to be the outgrowth of a regenerated life in Christ under the Holy Ghost. More emphasis was put upon the direct reign of the Spirit than on the formal principle of the Scriptures, though by no means to any neglect of the latter. \* \* \* In Schwenkfeld we find the source of many characteristics of modern Protestantism; the function of the laity, the right of representation, the freedom of conscience, the separation of Church and State, the ecclesiola in ecclesia, and many another principle that is now potent in all branches of Christendom, had their strongest champion in him in the day when these were heretical principles and when their assertion was at the peril of life; there is scarcely a religious school, whether pietistic or liberal, that has not drawn some formative impulse from him through a hitherto unobserved absorption."





## CHAPTER II.

### THE SCHWENKFELDERS BEFORE THEIR MIGRATION TO SAXONY.



THE followers of Schwenkfeld were found in many parts of Germany, though mainly in Suabia and Silesia, in Italy, Switzerland, Bohemia, Moravia and Holland. In some districts almost whole villages adopted this faith. Many princes and nobles were won to the cause by the Christian life of Schwenkfeld and his disciples and by their system of doctrine, to be persuaded later to leave it again for state reasons. Had it not been for this, many others, both of the nobility and of the common people, would probably have cast their lot with the movement. In spite of the untoward circumstances, Schwenkfeld probably had at least 4,000 adherents at the time of his death.

These people were subject to adverse winds from the very first and later were practically outlawed by the Augsburg Confession, by the Truce of Nuremberg, by the Treaty of Augsburg and by the Treaty of Westphalia. In the time of persecution many embraced the provisions of law and fled to Glatz the mountainous region west of

Silesia, where more protection was afforded. At times some free city or ruling prince might tolerate them or perhaps permit them to have their own churches and ministers to be rudely robbed, persecuted or exiled again by successors.

Petitions to those in authority were suppressed by under-officers, books were burned or cast into the sea, children were by force baptized into a faith that the parents could not conscientiously accept. They were cast into dark dungeons, to waste away and perish neglected in life and death. They were placed in the front line of battle in order that they might become slayers of their fellow-men and be slain by them, but they would not shoot others, neither were they shot. They were chained to the rowers' benches on galleys to toil as rowers and then to be cast overboard when life had fled. They found their graves under the waves of the sea or by the church walls where transgressors were buried or on the village commons where offal was cast and the cattle grazed.

Their form of worship was quite simple. When they had no churches of their own, they met at the houses of the older members, sang, prayed, read the Scriptures and explained the Bible either by comments of their own or by reading the sermons of Schwenkfeld, Hiller, Werner or Weichenhan. In the training of the young they were very strict. Their Sunday services, according to one of their number, Martin John, Jr., were conducted as follows: "In the morning after each had offered his morning prayer, the people met and sang morning hymns standing, after which prayers were read from a book of prayers and hymns, particularly to the Holy Ghost, were sung standing. Song and prayer followed, after which several sermons were read. Dinner having been served, singing

# Gyftolar;

Das ist

## Lebzeiten und Tugend-Brüder

welcher beyderley Erwerb, Tugenden und Befehlen der  
Gleichen und Tugend-Brüder.

Da sie geschrieben in und außer dem Befehl, an den  
für, fürsten, Tugenden und Oberkeiten; wie auch an sich  
selbst in der Hand; welche alle geschrieben von Tugenden  
1527. bis zum Ende des 17ten Jahrhunderts.

Darunter enthalten sind

schöne, nützliche Lehren und Befehle ihres Glaubens  
Lebens, Tugenden und Wissenschaft ihrer Lehren; zu dem Ende  
zu dem Ende ihrer Tugenden und was sie an sich haben.

nebst einem

offentlichen und mündlichen Befehl, des 17ten und 18ten  
Jahrhunderts.

Caspar Schwenkfeldt,

welcher Anno Domini 1525 den 28. May zu  
Lützen aufm Schloß mit Martin Nüßern, am  
großen Tische und in der Kirche gehalten war  
den ist

erklich zusammen getragen

Anno 1734

sind

Abgeschrieben wie auch zu gleich mit nützlichen Tugenden da  
zugehörig stehen

M DCC XLV



and prayer were resumed after which reading was engaged in, to be closed by singing and prayer standing. When they met during the week, much singing was practiced and prayer was wont to be offered before they parted."

At the opening of the eighteenth century, the Schwenkfelders were reduced to less than 1,500 souls all told and were found mainly in the Silesian villages of Harpersdorf, Armenruh, Laubgrund, Hockenau, Lang-Neundorf, Höfel and Lauterseifen. They were honest, quiet, modest, industrious, law-abiding, and as farmers, gardeners, weavers, apothecaries, merchants and professionalists in general, earned a living—precarious indeed at times—by the toil of their hands. On account of their industry and frugality they were in general protected by their landlords. As a church they had no existence, not having at any time been allowed for state reasons to have free and undisturbed church organizations. The condition of the people at this time is described at considerable length by Balzer Hoffman, one of their number, later their pastor in Pennsylvania. Among other things he says in reference to this period of time : "We lived scattered in different villages and belonged to the church and under the ministers with respect to church service and church dues. We had no knowledge of our own system of doctrine ; indifference, lukewarmness and ignorance prevailed ; one family after another gave up the faith. Intermarriage with members of the churches took place. Those who saw the tendency hardly dared to speak on account of minister, neighbor and government. Books of new and strange doctrines were eagerly read and popular ministers listened to and the teachings of the fathers neglected. Confusion followed and he who dared to say aught against this condition was looked upon as unduly attached to Schwenkfeld and pretending to be wiser than the fathers."

The total decay and extinction of this confession of faith seemed at hand, but—as the Schwenkfelder ministers were wont to say—“God chose the persecutor’s hand to transplant the faith into the soil of the New World and thus as on eagle’s wings to carry it away from the land of oppression.” A Lutheran minister said persecution came as a punishment from God because the Schwenkfelders did not become Lutherans. The books about the Schwenkfelders issued at this time, the conduct of Neander, Schneider and others, prepared the way for the Jesuit Mission. The immediate cause of the mission was the effort of the Lutherans to bring about the conversion of the Schwenkfelders to the Lutheran faith. Neander, the Lutheran pastor of Harpersdorf, failing in this, appealed to the magistracy. The attention of the imperial court was called to the case and there, contrary to Neander’s plans, it was decided, through the machinations of the Jesuits, to make Catholics of the few remaining Schwenkfelders. Although Charles VI. did not plan to drive them from their homes, he was fully determined to tolerate only the religious parties sanctioned by the Treaty of Westphalia and thus stood ready to be led by the Jesuits. A report on these people was therefore called for and furnished in the summer of 1717 by the Catholic and the Lutheran church officers. Consultation and laying of plans followed. Judicial examinations of the Schwenkfelders were soon held. They were questioned on doctrine, their confession of faith and such books as gave light on their teaching being called for, and were then exhorted to join one of the three sanctioned religions.

The imperial government decided to entrust the conversion of these people to the Jesuits and assigned Johannes Milan and Carolus Xavier Regent to this duty. They

arrived on their field of labor in December, 1719, and by their very coming brought consternation into the community. They immediately went to work and at first tried to convert the people by kind words and argumentation. The Lutherans also went to work with renewed zeal and tried their skill. Rivalry thus sprang up and there was a seeming contest between the Lutherans and Catholics to see who could pervert the most Schwenkfelders. The Jesuits soon made threats against their rivals which were not heeded. On account of complaints, the Lutheran ministers were then called to Liegnitz and in the presence of the Jesuit missionaries were told that by imperial command the Schwenkfelders were to be given over to the two missionaries, that they were to have no part in the parochial rights of the Lutherans, that henceforth no Lutheran was to perform any religious service for the Schwenkfelders who were to be buried in dishonor in the carrion pit, on the commons, or at the cross-roads or by the walls of cemeteries, without song or tolling of bells or train of friends and mourners, with a wheelbarrow for their hearse. Early in 1721 Milan, contrary to instructions, began to compel the women and children, instead of the grown men, to attend the missionary services. Matters were now assuming such a serious aspect that an appeal to the imperial court was decided upon.

Accordingly, May 5, 1721, Christopher Hoffman, Balzer Hoffman and Balzer Hoffrichter left for Vienna the imperial city as deputies to make a plea for toleration for their severely oppressed brethren at home. Hoffrichter did not stay long but the other two remained over four years. Neither of these deputies had any knowledge of the method of doing business at the imperial court; officials who assisted them did so at the risk of losing their

positions; they had been grossly misrepresented; their faith was not even recognized by the Treaty of Westphalia; as a people they were hated, despised, and maligned by Church and State. Secret and true friends were found, however, in their need, by whose kind aid and counsel in part, seventeen memorials were presented to the imperial court of Charles VI. During this time Balzer Hoffman found time to write letters, visit friends, and compose hymns, sermons and extensive tracts on religious subjects. The expense incurred by the deputies must have fallen particularly heavy on a people already impoverished by the ravages of war and the burdensome fines imposed by the Jesuits. According to one account their leader Melchior Schultz confessed that to secure toleration they spent 19,000 rix-dollars (\$10,000-12,500).

The condition of the Schwenkfelders at this time is well described by the Hon. C. Heydrick, in his *Historical Sketch of the Schwenkfelders*. He says: "When parents refused to present their children for instruction, they were imprisoned; women were placed in the stocks and compelled to lie in cold rooms in the winter without as much as straw under them; and when imprisonment failed to bring the people with their children to the missionary services, fines and extortions were added; marriage was forbidden unless the parties would promise to rear their offspring in the Catholic faith, and when young people went into other countries to be married they were imprisoned for it on their return. The dead were not allowed Christian burial in their church-yards where their ancestors of the same faith slept, but were required to be interred in cattle-ways and sorrowing friends were forbidden to follow the remains of loved ones to these ignominious resting places. \* \* \* The missionaries claimed guardianship of

all orphan children of Schwenkfelders, and thus the last hours of the dying were embittered by the thought that their children must be educated in a faith that they themselves abhorred. And to prevent escape from the horrible situation in which they were placed the people were forbidden to sell their property or under any pretext to leave the country and severe penalties were denounced against any person who should assist a Schwenkfelder to escape by purchasing his property or otherwise."

The last appeal of the deputies, dated July 28, 1725, was answered by a decree from the imperial court signed "Charles" which, among the stringent regulations, contained these words: "Furthermore, the Schwenkfelder congregations in their submissive requests to be tolerated in their confession of faith in the future are once for all refused, and they shall never hereafter venture to present new supplications." This decree meant for the Schwenkfelders new terrors and for the missionaries renewed zeal and redoubled efforts to let none of their game escape. For those who were most firm in their convictions it meant flight, and accordingly plans were laid in secret for relief by this method.

The first baptism by force took place September 15, 1725, when the child of George Mentzel only three weeks old was taken away from the mother's side by dragoons, carried to the priest and baptized. The father and grandfather were imprisoned for having refused to bring the child to baptism at the priest's command. The first one to flee was widow Barbara Marckel (née Yeakel), who, with her four children, went to Friedersdorf, October 17, 1725. On the twenty-sixth of October, Adam Wiegner, in behalf of the rest, wrote to Holland and asked the Mennonites to use their influence to secure toleration and cer-

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



CHRISTIAN HOBBURG.

JULY 23, 1607—OCT. 29, 1675.



tain rights for them in their homes. This letter was referred to the church in Amsterdam. Investigations were instituted and while these were in progress, a second letter was written by Wiegner, December 3, in which he repeated the request for intercession in the first letter and asked whether they might be able to find a place of abiding and means of support in Holland. The oppression becoming more severe and answers from Holland being delayed, the Schwenkfelders wrote to Zinzendorf and begged him to assist them in finding a place in Herrnhut during the coming winter. The count immediately replied that in case of flight he would be glad to receive them and provide homes for them. Through a mutual friend, Pastor Schwedler, an asylum was also provided for them at Görlitz. Places of refuge having thus been located, when the storm became more severe one family after another fled during February and the following months by night, abandoning homes, and kindred and all, taking naught with them but sorrow and poverty as Adam Wiegner wrote.

Thus it came to pass that the Schwenkfelders left their homes and lands, their brothers and sisters, their fathers and mothers for Jesus' sake, to sojourn for a time in Saxony. It is irrelevant to the present undertaking to discuss the destiny of those that remained. It must suffice to say that many forsook the faith and that they did not get their full religious liberty until Frederick the Great claimed and secured Silesia and proclaimed freedom of faith to all its subjects. The handful left, though they had remained true in adversity, could not stand prosperity and gradually forsook the faith of their fathers. A century later, in 1826, the last professing Schwenkfelder, Melchior Dorn, was laid to his rest at Harpersdorf.





### CHAPTER III.

#### THE SCHWENKFELDERS IN SAXONY AND THEIR MIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA.



**EARLY** all the Schwenkfelders exiled from Silesia found a place of refuge in Upper Lusatia, the eastern part of the electorate Saxony, ruled over during their stay by Frederick Augustus I. and his son, Frederick Augustus II. The Treaty of Westphalia defined their religious rights which of course regarded them here also as outlaws. Some were received at Herrnhut, to be transferred later to Berthelsdorf, who thus became a part of the diversified population of that celebrated community; some were received at Görlitz and a few at other places and thus between 400 and 500 Silesians gradually found homes on the soil of Saxony.

At Herrnhut, Zinzendorf seems to have given to them the right of buying land and building homes; at Görlitz they could only rent places and were not allowed to hold religious worship together in public or in private. They were in general received so well, however, that they began to think of staying permanently and made preparations accordingly. Many of them were in destitute circumstances,

but they must have begun to accumulate property, for by the stories circulated and put in print one must infer that they were at least looked upon as people of means. From a reply to questions made by the Schwenkfelders about this time the following figures as to means of livelihood are gathered: spinners, 29; day-laborers, 9; carpenters, 5; dealers, 6; shoemakers, 3; linen-weavers, 3; farmers, 3; cabinet-maker, 1; tailor, 1.

They probably attended the religious services of the church at Berthelsdorf more or less regularly but they could not see their way clear to become members, for in essence it was a Lutheran body and to be received into it meant to the faithful Schwenkfelder the betrayal and surrender of many precious truths. It was probably on account of their holding aloof from joining church that they were called Silesian separatists. Zinzendorf posed as "Reformer of the Schwenkfelders," and by his course of action soon made some surmise that it would be policy for them to become church members if they wished to remain in peace, although they were not disturbed on account of doctrine or action. At Görlitz the Schwenkfelders attended the public worship of the pastor Reverend Schaeffer for a time, but after a while dropped out on account of the language concerning them used in the pulpit one Sunday.

The condition of the religious life of the Schwenkfelders was probably not as flourishing as might have been desired. They were not organized as a body and were thus deprived of the advantages of organized and well-directed pastoral labor. They were in the habit of thinking for themselves and thus did not reconcile themselves readily to the well-meant advice and directions of others. Various other things helped to thwart their religious growth.

They frequently met, however, in private gatherings at which, as well as at their family worship, the sermons of their early leaders were read and the hymns sung that the fathers used to sing. In 1732 it was reported that in Berthelsdorf the Schwenkfelders allowed their children to be baptized, but that they could not be brought to become members of the church. One of their own leaders said: "I am deeply pained when I see the pitiable decline in life and doctrine among our people." Another of their leaders said: "The heart is cold, faint, weary; zeal for the truth, spiritless and the resolution for reformation and consecration to God wanting." In view of this condition of affairs, George Weiss, one of their number, began the composition of a series of letters addressed to various members in the Schwenkfelder community. These were of a doctrinal and devotional nature and were prepared in the hope that they might be read, reread, discussed, circulated and compared with the standards of doctrine.

While they were thus living their somewhat precarious religious life, the time was drawing nigh when, under God's providence, another migration was to take place. The Jesuits, provoked by their own defeat in their efforts at mission work and by the protection afforded these people by Count Zinzendorf, had for some time in various ways engendered trouble for the Count, the Moravians and the Schwenkfelders, and were anxious to capture the game that had escaped from them by midnight flights. Accordingly when the elector died, to be succeeded by his son in 1733, the Jesuits made use of the chance afforded by applying to the young ruler for the enforced return of the Schwenkfelders to Silesia. The ministers at Dresden gave a hint of this to these people and advised them to move to some other place. An imperial edict was issued

at Dresden, April 4, 1733, addressed to the syndic at Bautzen, the superior office of Upper Lusatia, to the effect that the *concilium abeundi* should be promulgated to the Schwenkfelders by Zinzendorf, that they were to go *singly*, and that he must see to it that the decree was carried out. Upon this George Weiss was appealed to and consented to take charge of the religious training and instruction of the people. Meetings were held by him on Sunday evenings. He read and explained hymns, and at the request of the parents catechetical instruction was also started in connection with his other labors. After consultation, prayer meetings were held, at which reading, singing, prayer and oral testimony were engaged in. Space permits but the mere mention of the fact that the secular training of the children was not overlooked, and that some, like Christopher Schultz, received careful culture.

Notice having been served that migration would have to take place within a year, the serious question arose where to go. The King of Prussia had made offers to them several times before the migration of 1726 to come and settle near Berlin with the purpose of establishing linen manufactures, but serious objections had prevented their acceptance. At the time of the flight they had asked the Mennonites of Holland whether they could perhaps find a place in their neighborhood to dwell and earn a living and had received an adverse answer. Their friend, Hänish the merchant of Görlitz, had advised them to try to secure, through some mutual friend, toleration from the King of Poland and refuge on the estates of the treasurer of the crown, but fate seemed to be against them. Several had made a trip to Hamburg to spy out a place where they might dwell together and had failed in their efforts. Brandenburg, Isenberg, Weisenberg had been tried in

vain. They applied to the Prince of Anhalt-Cöthen, to be disappointed again. Thus they had often tried, and though at times they were almost successful, they knew not where to go.

No place seeming to be in sight in the old world, they turned their thoughts across the sea to free America, where so many of the down-trodden and oppressed had found freedom from the bonds of tyranny. Zinzendorf, who was also alarmed at this time, was looking the same way to find homes for the people under his care, the Moravians, over whom the same fate seemed to hang that had come to the Schwenkfelders. His eye rested on Georgia, which had just been carved out of the seemingly boundless expanse beyond the Atlantic, and which was planned to be a home for those fleeing from religious oppression. He proposed to them the plan of migrating in a body to Georgia.

They expressed a willingness akin to an eager desire to go there if he could arrange with the king that they should have entire liberty of conscience, free land and free transportation. In a letter to him they said: "It is not our thought to be great or to try to do great things in the world, but rather to seek to be small and to direct our purposes and settlement according to God's will. We hope to have a close connection even in temporal affairs so that our confession of faith may be upheld and that such arrangements, regulations, and conditions may be met as will enable us to win our daily bread without becoming a burden in a strange country." They were too poor to pay their own ship passage and were very solicitous to escape impending slavery and dispersion in consequence of being compelled to go as redemptioners. Zinzendorf tried to meet these conditions and entered into negotiations with the English minister in Copenhagen and the German agent

of the "Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia." According to Fresenius, Reichel, Hoffman and Schultz, these conditions could not be met by Zinzendorf at the proper time and thus the Schwenkfelders became free from the hand of the count, a result planned by God for which they had many reasons for thankfulness. The scheme of Zinzendorf not having materialized, thoughts turned to Pennsylvania anew, for they had known of the place for some time already. A letter, probably written by Zinzendorf, shows that they contemplated going to Pennsylvania by way of Hamburg before the close of 1733. They secured permission of the crown of England to migrate to this home of the free and made preparations to go, turning into money whatever they could. On the thirteenth of April, 1734, but a few days before they began to pull their tent-stakes to start on their long trip, a great conference was held at which George Weiss read a rigorous paper on the past and present condition of the Schwenkfelders and promulgated stringent rules and regulations for their conduct in various relations after arriving in Pennsylvania.

The actual migration began on Tuesday, April 20, when the first family left Berthelsdorf. In small companies others followed, bound for Pirna, the place of embarkation on the Elbe River. They went to Pirna in small companies because the order to migrate forbade their going in one body, a regulation that gave them no little concern. All having arrived by April 28, they took ship and left Pirna on the afternoon of the following day, bound for Altona. They passed Dresden the same day, Magdeburg on the sixth of May, and arrived at Hamburg on the sixteenth of May. The next morning at six they disembarked at Altona where they remained eleven days.

They left this place in three vessels on the twenty-eighth of May and arrived in Amsterdam, the first two vessels on the fourth and the last on the sixth of June. At Haarlem they stayed fifteen days, when they left for Rotterdam, where they embarked on the ship *Saint Andrew*, Stedman, Captain, on the twenty-first of June. On the twenty-eighth of June they sailed away from Rotterdam, bound for Plymouth, England, where they arrived on the seventeenth of July. On the twenty-ninth of July they sailed from Plymouth and the next day found themselves rocking on the waves of the Atlantic Ocean. On the seventeenth of September they heard the welcome words, "Land, Land," from the lips of the watcher at the mast, and five days later the booming of cannon announced their arrival in Philadelphia.

On their voyage down the Elbe from Pirna to Altona they were crowded on the vessels, but they had the comfort of going ashore several times a day if they chose. At Magdeburg they laid in a supply of bread to last until they reached Altona, eleven days later. Quite a number of the party was sick, but no one died during this part of the journey. In Altona, Mennonite brethren, the van der Smisens, procured lodging for them and lavishly cared for all their wants during their eleven days' stay, and, after providing for their trip from Altona to Haarlem, dismissed them without taking any remuneration for their kindness and services. The three vessels on which they embarked were soon parted on account of storms and did not meet again until they came to Haarlem. Considerable alarm was felt for the belated vessels and as soon as their arrival was announced the Byuschanse brothers, their wives, Melchior Schultz, brother of the surveyor David Schultze of Pennsylvania, and other friends came out in

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



MEMORIES OF BYGONE DAYS.





boats to meet them and inquire about the well-being of the passengers. They found lodging in quarters provided by the Byuschanse brothers and were protected from intrusion by a guard placed before the house with instructions to admit no one except on business or by permission. The same parties made a contract with Captain Stedman for conveying the company to Pennsylvania at their own expense at the following rates: persons over fifteen years, thirty rix-dollars, persons under fifteen, fifteen rix-dollars, and children under four, free. They thrust provisions of all kinds for the voyage on them and, against their strong protest, insisted on doing these deeds of kindness, saying even to those who could pay their own passage that they should help their poorer brethren on coming to Pennsylvania. They even gave 224 rix-dollars for a poor-fund among them. The Schwenkfelders, before leaving Haarlem, prepared a detailed account of their experiences which they sent to their friends in Saxony.

When they finally embarked on the *Saint Andrew* they found that they had residents of the Palatinate as fellow-emigrants, thus swelling the number to three hundred. The voyage across the Atlantic must have been wearisome and distressing. At one time a calm would befall them so that the sails would hang motionless and the rudder was tied. At other times contrary winds took them out of their course. Storms, accompanied by lightning, overtook them, waves dashed over the vessel even up into the sails, the timbers creaked, the companion-ways and hatches were closed tight, passengers almost stifled in the hold were tossed about unable to sit or lie. The hot winds from the south and southwest oppressed them. Even their bedding was drenched by the waters of the sea that found its way through the hatches. Their food, consisting of stale

bread, beef, rice, syrup, pork, peas, groats and dried cod-fish, became unpalatable and the drinking water positively nauseating. Nor did death leave them undisturbed; nine times did they see their own weighted with sand or tied to a board carried to the edge of the vessel, gently lifted over the side and consigned to the briny deep. Who would not have felt like singing with them on such occasions: *Ach wie elend ist unsere Zeit*. What a pleasure it must have been to see their friend George Schultz — in America since 1731 — coming over the side of the vessel on their day of arrival, bringing with him an abundance of apples and palatable beer. It is pleasant to note these words in the *Reise Beschreibung* by Christopher Schultz: “We had a very good captain who strictly observed the articles of contract, and very good sailors who showed great patience with us.” Though they endured many hardships they fared better than many other immigrants.





## CHAPTER IV.

### THE SETTLEMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA.



**PENNSYLVANIA'S** free soil having finally been reached, the first duty of immigrants was to proceed to the proper officers and declare their allegiance to the King of England and their fidelity to the province. Accordingly the males of these newly-arrived Schwenkfelders over sixteen years of age went early on the morning of September 23 to the Court House to meet such obligation. The minutes of the Provincial Council make this reference to the event : "At the Court House of Philadelphia, September the 12th (Old Style) 1734. Present : The Honorable, the Lieutenant Governor, The Mayor of the City and others of the Magistracy. Eighty-nine Palatines who, with their families making in all two Hundred and sixty one Persons, were imported here in the Ship Saint Andrew, John Stedman, Master, from Rotterdam but last from Plymouth as by clearance from thence, this day took and subscribed the effect of the government oaths and also the Declaration prescribed by the Order of Council of the 21st of September, 1727."

The declaration referred to reads as follows : "We Subscribers, Natives and late Inhabitants of the Palatinate

upon the Rhine and places adjacent, having transported ourselves and families into this Province of Pennsylvania, a Colony subject to the crown of Great Britain in hopes and expectation of finding a retreat and peaceable settlement therein, do solemnly promise and engage that we will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his MAJESTY KING GEORGE THE SECOND and his successors, Kings of Great Britain and will be faithful to the Proprietor of this Province; And that we will demean ourselves peaceably to all His Majesties subjects and strictly observe and conform to the laws of England and of this Province, to the utmost of our power and best of our understanding."

Christopher Schultz says that they could not take the prescribed oath on account of scruples of conscience, that they were quite willingly excused from this and that they pledged their allegiance by affirmation or *mit einem Handschlage*.

On the day following, September 24, a day of thanksgiving was observed, their pastor, George Weiss taking the lead. This was the origin of Memorial Day observed each year ever since. Where this service was held does not appear to be recorded. The Court House then stood at the present Second and Market Streets. They may have met in the Friends' Meeting House close by, in one of the other churches or perchance in the woods only a short distance above Market Street. Philadelphia, then only fifty years old, had perhaps 13,000 inhabitants with farms, fields and woods reaching practically down as far as the present Vine Street, most of the 1,500 houses being south of High Street as Market was then called. Concerning this day of prayer, or *Gedächtniss-Tag* as it is commonly called, Hon. S. W. Pennypacker well says: "There were many sects which were driven to America by religious

persecutions, but of them all the Schwenkfelders are the only one which established and since steadily maintained a Memorial day to commemorate its deliverance and give thanks to the Lord for it. To George Weiss belongs an honor which cannot be accorded to John Robinson, William Penn, or George Calvert. The beautiful example set by German was followed neither by Pilgrim or Quaker." Here was a handful of poor and despised immigrants, providentially saved from years of service as redemptioners to pay their ship-passage by the charitable hearts in Holland that aided them, freed but a day from the thralldom of centuries of cruel religious oppression, unaccustomed to the art of church government or untrammelled public divine services, firmly convinced that it was their duty to maintain in their thinking and living the principles of civil and religious liberty. Behind them was the deep sea made memorable by a tedious voyage in deep sorrow and grief; beyond the sea was the fatherland whose tale of ten score years of cruelty was ineradicably engraved on memory's tablet; before them an unknown country filled with fabled wild beasts and cruel savages without a place of their own on which to rest their weary heads. Their valiant endurance in grievous trials is an undoubted evidence that on the altars of their hearts the sacred fires of devotion to their God were burning brightly and that in spite of stifling persecution their faith in the mercy and goodness of their Saviour had not wavered. Reverend C. Z. Weiser, in his paper on *Casper Schwenkfeld and the Schwenkfelders*, says: "I have often, when looking at the *Landing of the Pilgrims*, asked myself, why some one of our Pennsylvania artists had not long ago taken the *Landing of the Schwenkfelders* under his pencil. Such a picture would help to perpetuate an historical event which transpired

within the career and limits of Pennsylvania, which ought not to be forgotten and over which any of the New England States would grow proud."

Before the company breaks and scatters it may be well to take a hasty glance at them. According to the list endorsed by John Stedman, the Captain of the *Saint Andrew* there are in the company 81 males and 83 females, or about 40 families of whom a dozen or more have children by their side. Tobias Hartranft brought five children; Christopher Schubert, three; Reverend Balzer Hoffman, three; George Dresher, three; Christopher Kriebel, four; Widower David Yeakel, six; Widow Regina Yeakel, five; Widow Susanna Schultz, four; Widow Susanna Wiegner, three. Other families have one or two children. There are also orphans, as for instance the three Schultz brothers. The more common family names are: Anders, Dresher, Hartranft, Heydrick, Hoffman, Kriebel, Meschter, Neuman, Reinwald, Schultz, Yeakel. Many of the children are but babes who have not yet learned to coo or to lisp the simple call to father or mother. In age, the company ranges from the helpless babe Christopher Meschter, less than four months old, to the aged Ursula Hoffman, past 71. Of the number, four have come across the mighty deep to make their last resting place in some forgotten city of the dead within the present limits of Philadelphia ere two weeks have sped away. Of the young orphans in the company, Christopher Yeakel lived until 1810, dying at the age of 91; Susanna Yeakel, until 1812, as Mrs. Abraham Wiegner, dying at the age of 83, and Rosina Yeakel, until 1820, as Mrs. Casper Seipt, dying at the age of 90.

They have in their midst a Balzer Hoffman who has stood before Charles VI., and through long and weary

years pleaded for toleration for his brethren in the faith, and who has made a reputation for himself as a prolific religious writer; a George Weiss who has for years devoted himself to the spiritual interests of the flock, and is their chosen pastor to watch over their spiritual welfare in their struggles for a livelihood, and who also has won fame as a writer, an austere and fearless man of God; a Dr. Melchior Heebner, past 65, known as a successful practitioner, a Restorationist, a hearty admirer of the English visionary, Jane Leade, an outspoken enemy of false spirituality, a lover of music and poetry, a man who strongly opposed the mission of Hoffman to Vienna as a worship of the beast and a dependence on money and the aid of men; a Christopher Wiegner, who has been writing a diary of his spiritual experiences since the days of his childhood, a young man intimately acquainted with Spangenberg, Zinzendorf and many of the leading men among the Moravians, a young man whose father, Adam Wiegner, had served as secretary to the Schwenkfelders in their quest for a place of refuge and who had pleaded so strongly with the Mennonites to try to dissuade the Schwenkfelders from going to Pennsylvania; a Christopher Schultz, who as a youth of sixteen had written the glowing account of their voyage just ended, who had studied his Latin, Greek and Hebrew and gave promise of an illustrious future. In passing it will be in place to note that the immigration by Schwenkfelders began in 1731 with George Schultz, and extended to 1737.

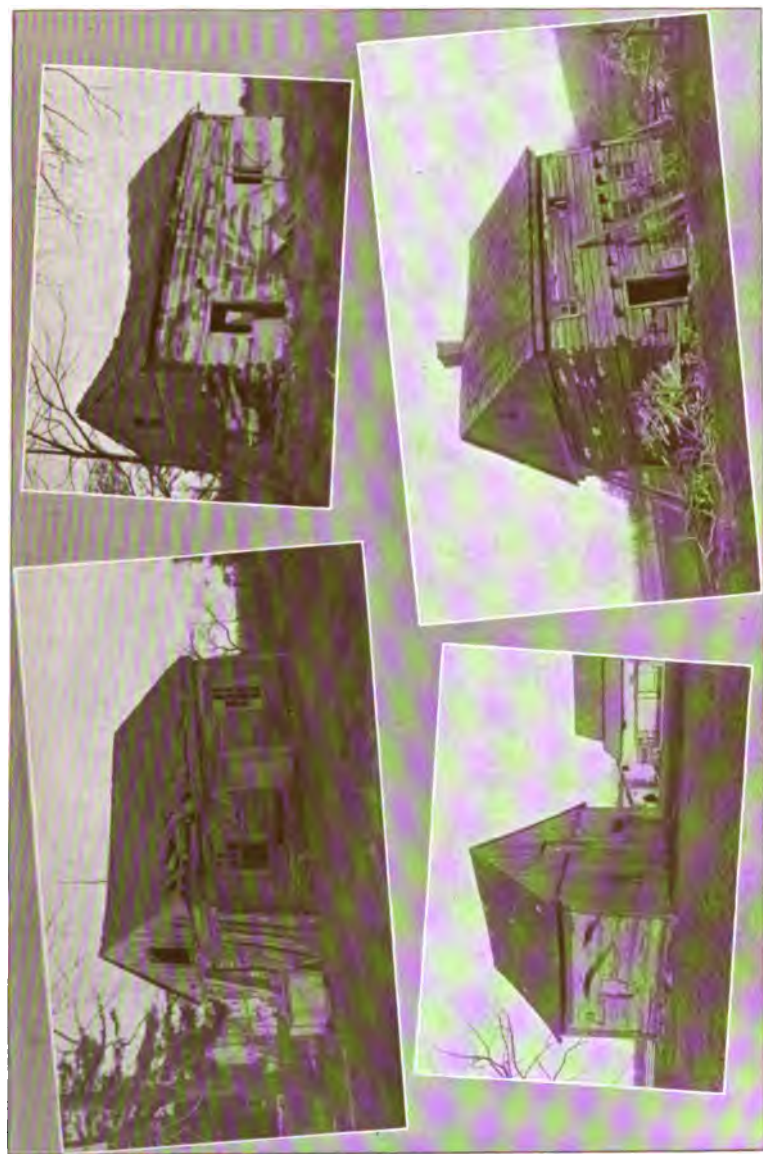
It will be of interest to watch these people in imagination as they seek to found homes for themselves. George Schultz and his two sons David and George who like Joshua and Caleb had spied out the land, gave counsel and advice. Seemingly the father had acquired land



prior to this in Goshenhoppen and probably knew some of the residents of the section. The son, George, afterwards known as "George Schultz of Philadelphia, Merchant," was acquainted with the city and its ways. These with the others that had come with them in 1733 were regarded worthy of mention by the tourist V. Beek, June 6, 1734, when among the different sects of Pennsylvania he mentioned the "Schwenkfelders." The first thought was to find temporary quarters until they could look around for permanent homes. David Seipt and family seem to have stayed in the city for awhile; some rented houses in Germantown or farther north; some were hired to people of the neighborhoods as they passed on up towards the Goshenhoppen valley near the present East Greenville. George Bönisch relates that early in November George Schultz asked him to come to his place in Goshenhoppen to help on his house as mason, and that he went there and worked for some time. Reverend Bathasar Hoffman served as his *Handlanger* (attendant). During his eight weeks' stay he attended services on Sunday conducted by his learned *helper* of the week. Quite a number of Schwenkfelders must therefore have been in Upper Hanover by November, 1734, where they probably lived as hired people or as renters in houses erected by others before they came.

Having found shelter and means of support for the first winter, they toiled and looked around for places to establish themselves permanently. They had planned and labored hard — Christopher Wiegner alone travelling hundreds of miles — to secure a large tract of contiguous land in order that they might live close together, but nowhere could they find a suitable place. They tried to buy the Casper Wistar tract of over 1,000 acres in

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



EARLY SCHWENKFELDER HOMES.

REINWALD COTTAGE, NEAR KULPSVILLE.

HOUSE ON FARM OF ISAAC K. KRIEBEL, NEAR MAINLAND

CAPTAIN BALZER HEYDRICK'S HOME, FLOURTOWN.

BALZER KRAUSS "PALACE," NEAR EAST GREENVILLE.



Lower Salford but found that it would not suit because it was already occupied in part. They made an offer of 1,000 pistoles for 2,000 acres of the Perkasio Manor lying north of the present Chalfont in Bucks County, an offer which Logan said was the best he had known to be made for land since he knew the province. Thomas Penn proposed to sell them 2,500 acres of the said manor land, but for some reason no sale was made. Christopher Wiegner relates that when he and others went to view the said land the residents would not show the boundary lines and conducted them a whole day over poor land. On inquiry, Wiegner learned that this was done because the people did not wish them to settle there. They also tried to buy 2,000 acres in "Falckner Schwam." Large unexplored and unsettled tracts were indeed available but they chose to make their homes in the inhabited sections and thus — unwittingly — avoided the extreme hardships of the frontier settlers and the barbaric cruelty of the revengeful Indian. Being prevented from establishing a distinct Schwenkfelder community, they concluded to buy wherever the conditions seemed most favorable. According to Christopher Wiegner they reached this decision March 21, 1735.

A few of these purchases will be noted. In March, Christopher Kriebel, Balzer Yeakel, father of George, Casper and George Heydrich, and George and Balzer Hoffman, severally bought lands aggregating over 500 acres situated in the present Lower Salford Township, near the Schwenkfelder Meeting House. In May, the brothers Melchior and Casper Kriebel bought respectively 189 and 130 acres in the neighborhood of the present Towamencin Meeting House. A little later Christopher Wiegner bought of Cadwallader Evans 150 acres adjoining the Kriebel tracts and shortly after moved there with his sister and

mother to establish a home that became noted in its day as the meeting place of the "Associated Brethren of the Shippack," of which more will be said later on. In June, Balzer Heydrich bought of John Jacob Fauth 100 acres in Falckner Swamp, now known as Frederick Township in part, not far from Stetler's store. Doctor Melchior Heebner and his son Hans settled close by, the same year. In August, George Dresher and David Seibt bought in partnership 134 acres and Christopher Reinwald 59 acres in Towamencin, not far from where Wiegner and the Kriebels had settled. The three Schultz brothers, Melchior, George and Christopher, settled in Goshenhoppen the same year, three miles away from their uncle George Schultz, Sr. Two miles farther north Melchior Wiegner and David Meschter located themselves on 100 acres, and where Levi Krauss now lives Balzer Krauss settled on the Shoemaker tract of 200 acres. David Heebner went into Oley and rented a farm, to return later and buy land in Falckner Swamp. Abraham, Balzer and Hans Heinrich, sons of David Yeakel and Gregorius Schultz, a son-in-law, wended their way past the sources of the Perkiomen over the hills into the Macungie valley, where they established homes and acquired considerable land. A 500-acre tract belonging to Casper Wistar, the button maker of Philadelphia, was rented by them, upon which they placed Hans Heinrich and another man for the raising of horses. Abraham Yeakel and Gregorius Schultz pushed a few miles farther into the woods and secured land that was afterwards sold to the ancestor of the Fogels living in Fogelsville. While these Yeakel boys were locating in Lehigh, a brother Casper bought land in Germantown, with the idea of erecting a house and serving the community as blacksmith.

In January, 1736, George Heebner entered into partnership with Henry Antes, of Frederick Township. This firm purchased 28 acres of land and erected a mill employing two sets of stone, the first mill of the community. This mill was situated where the dam of the present Grubb mill is located. It was at the house of George Heebner where the second of the Zinzendorf conferences was held a few years later.

In April George Schultz obtained a grant for 150 acres of land in Goshenhoppen west of the present East Greenville, which was transferred to the three Schultz brothers, George, Melchior and Christopher, and then, or possibly the summer before, they (according to tradition) began to build the first two-story house between the Skipack and the Blue Mountains.

In 1737, in March, Abraham Beyer, who had landed with his family in Philadelphia the previous October, bought 94 acres of land near the present Worcester Meeting House, to be joined later by Doctor Abraham Wagner who, also acquired land in the neighborhood.

In 1738, Dr. Melchior Heebner, father of George, died and was buried in Frederick Township, on his own land, according to the Genealogical Record, which he had acquired some time previous. Hans Heebner, a son, was one of the neighbors of Dr. Heebner and had acquired prior to this 94 acres.

In 1740, Melchior Wiegner acquired 75 acres of land in the lower part of Hereford Township and Christopher Krauss over 100 acres in the Hosensack valley along the creek issuing from the Powder Valley. In 1741 David Meschter acquired by patent 100 acres in Hereford Township. In 1743, Christopher Yeakel built the log cabin at the foot of Chestnut Hill known to this day as the "Yeakel

cottage." In 1744 David Seipt bought 150 acres of John Benezet in the neighborhood where Casper Kriebel had settled.

In 1746, conveyances of property took place, by which the three Schultz brothers dissolved partnership. George remained at the old homestead, Melchior established himself

*O Unglück und Jammer !  
Mein forstlich geliebte und gelobte Frau  
Anna Rosina ist zu unserm eigenen  
Leiden sehr plötzlich, unbarmherzig  
ermordet und erschossen worden  
in der Nacht gegen Morgen den 14. June.*

*Auf Gott !  
Nur für Gott und Sorgenlos  
ist mein über mich hinweg  
mal für Angst und Noth geh  
nicht bekräftigt. Auf erbarne  
helf über unsere unsterbliche  
Seelen. Amen.*

where Horatio K. Schultz now lives and Christopher moved to where a descendant, Jeremiah K. Schultz, lives, not far from the Washington Schwenkfelder Meeting House.

In 1749 David Schultz bought 180 acres in Goshenhoppen located near East Greenville. It was on this farm that Mrs. Schultz was cruelly murdered in June, 1750. We present herewith a fac-simile of the entry made by Schultz in his Almanac diary at the time of the murder :

In 1749 a patent was granted to Balthasar Krauss for part of the Shoemaker tract near the present Kraussdale Schwenkfelder Meeting House. In November, 1751, Melchior Schultz bought 332 acres along the Perkiomen, south of Pennsburg down stream from the Hillegass mill property. Later in the same year, Christopher Newman bought of David Williams 225 acres in the vicinity of the present West Point. In 1754 Christopher Wagner bought 54 acres in Worcester. In 1757, Balzer Yeakel, of Macungie bought of Micheal Schell in the Hosensack valley 120 acres. In November 1761 Gregorius Schultz of Macungie bought of Abraham Yeakel 125 acres in Upper Hanover, and in December Hans Heinrich Yeakel, the third and last of the Schwenkfelders who had settled beyond the present Macungie, bought the Hamilton tract of 500 acres and the usual allowance, the garden of the Hosensack valley which he later divided and sold to his four sons. In March, 1762, Christopher Heebner bought of Frederick Cressman, 122 acres in Norriton Township and a few weeks later Christopher Dresher bought of John Roberts 129 acres in Towamencin. In 1765 George Kriebel bought of Samuel Mechling 302 acres in Lower Milford, then Northampton County, near the present so-called Kraussdale. Later in the year, David Heebner sold his 200 acres in Frederick Township and moved to Worcester. A few years later George Heebner, of Frederick Township, sold his farms of over 175 acres to Reverend John Philip Leidich and moved to Chestnut Hill. These are some of the land transactions and will afford a view of the acquisition of real estate.

Through the Heintze correspondence, of which more will be said later, a request was made that the Schwenkfelders should let the friends in Germany know how and where they dwelt. In compliance with this request, sur-





veyor David Schultze made a map of the places of residence which was sent with explanatory matter to Germany, June, 1767. When Ober-Lehrer Friedrich Schneider a century later was pursuing his studies in Schwenkfeld history he discovered this map and explanatory matter in the library of Pastor Nitschke of Harpersdorf. He made a copy which in due time came into the hands of the Berlin Library. A tracing of this copy was made under the direction of Dr. Hartranft, editor of the *Corpus Schwenkfeldianorum*. A copy of said tracing is given herewith.

The numbers on the map were explained in the letter that accompanied the map. The list is herewith reproduced in the spelling as given in the Hartranft copy on the left hand side and on the right hand side the places are identified by reference to present owners or tenants.

*Berks County, Hereford:*

- |                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Melchior Schulz.      | Horatio K. Schultz.  |
| 2. David Meschter.       | Leon Fetterman.      |
| 3. George Wiegner.       | Solomon Schmoyer.    |
| Melchior Wiegners Sohn.  |                      |
| 4. Barbara Jäckelinn     | Joseph Yeakel.       |
| 5. Christian (?) Schulz. | Jeremiah K. Schultz. |
| 6. Gregorius Meschter.   | Not identified.      |

*Nordhamton County, Milford Township:*

- |                            |                     |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 7. Balthasar Jäckel, Sohn. | Benjamin Weiss.     |
| 8. Hans Jäckel, Vater.     | Daniel Yeakel.      |
| 9. George Jäckel, Sohn.    | Nathaniel Hiestand. |
| 10. Jeremias Jäckel, Sohn. | Nathan Schultz.     |
| 11. Balthasar Kraus.       | Levi Krauss.        |
| 12. George Kriebel.        | Abraham Brey.       |
| Casper Kriebels Sohn.      |                     |

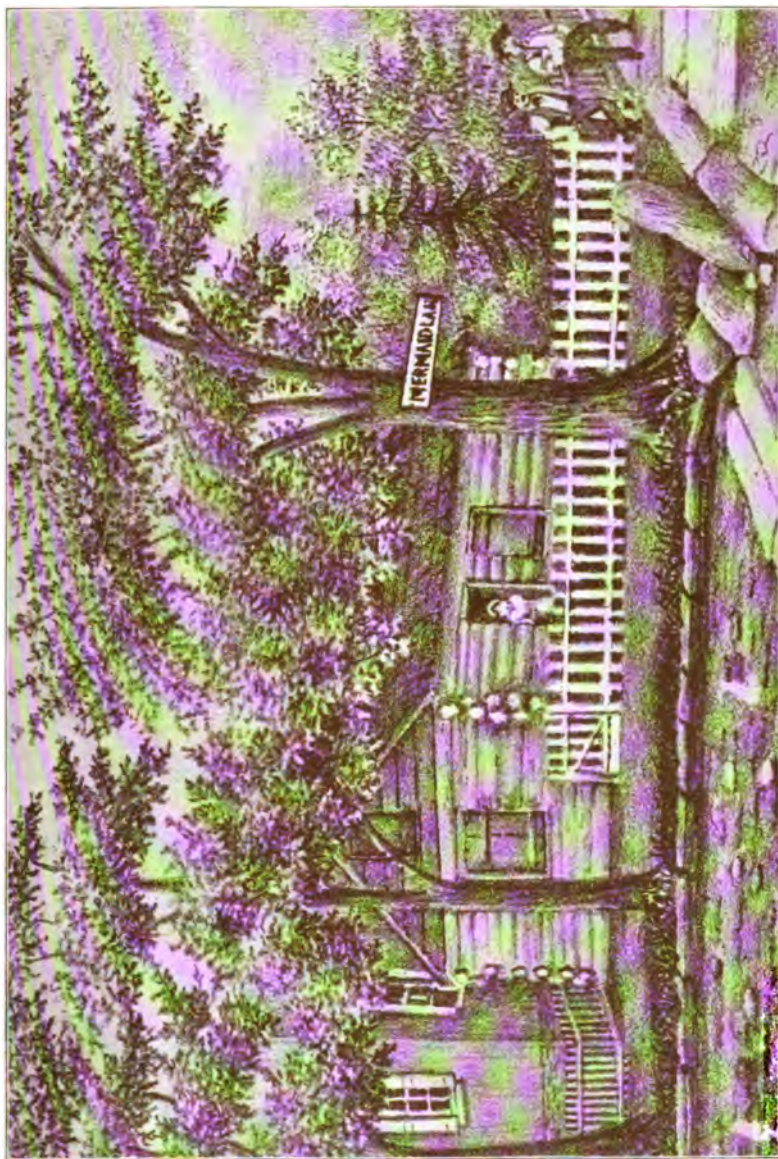
Folgende sind alle Einwohner von Philadelphia county in Coschephoppe oder Oberhannover (translation): The following are all residents of Philadelphia county in Goshenhoppen or Upper Hanover.

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 13. Georg Schulz, senior.               | E. H. Schultz, Palm.    |
| 14. Georg Schultz, senior<br>alt.       | Abraham Schultz.        |
| 15. Gregor Schulz.                      | Rufus Shuler.           |
| 16. Christoph Krause.                   | John C. Hancock Ice Co. |
| 17. George Wiegner.                     | Late Daniel Althouse.   |
| 18. Christoph Jäckel.                   | Henry R. Seibert.       |
| 19. David Schulz.                       | Henry D. Snyder.        |
| 20. Seines Bruder.<br>Melchiors Wittwe. | John Gerhard.           |
| 21. George Hübner.                      | Near Stetler's Store.   |
| (Soweit dererste Bezirk.)               |                         |

In Schippach und Umgegend wohnen; (translation): Thus far the first district; in Skippack and vicinity there dwell:

- |   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. Christoph Kriebel.                       | David M. Cassel.       |
| 2. George Kriebel.                          | Elias Landis.          |
| 3. George Heidrich.                         | John Halteman.         |
| 4. Christoph Hoffmann.                      | Henry Derstine Estate. |
| 5. Christoph Wiegner.                       | Isaac K. Kriebel.      |
| 6. Balthasar Jäckel.                        | Not identified.        |
| 7. Hans Jäckel.                             | Peter Lewis.           |
| 8. Abraham Heidrich.                        | Not identified.        |
| 9. Christoph Drescher.                      | Israel Heckler.        |
| 10. Christoph Reinwald.                     | Not identified.        |
| 11. George Anders.                          | Allen K. Kriebel.      |
| 12. Abraham Kriebel (sein<br>Vater Casper). | Abraham Kriebel.       |
| 13. Abraham Wiegner.                        | Not identified.        |

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



FROM SKETCH BY RICHARD, 1841.

YEAKEL COTTAGE, BUILT 1743, CHESTNUT HILL, PHILADELPHIA.  
THE LAST LOG CABIN IN PHILADELPHIA.



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 14. Melchior Möschter.                                  | Not identified.                                    |
| 15. Casper Seibt.                                       | Sam Metz.  |
| 16. Hans Christoph Hübner.                              | William Freed.                                     |
| 17. Christoph Wagner.                                   | H. H. Heebner.                                     |
| 18. David Hübner.                                       | Near Worcester (Schwenk-<br>felder meeting house). |
| 19. Andreas Beer.                                       | Late Michael Grater, now<br>Ellwood Anders.        |
| 20. Abraham Anders, weil-<br>and Abrah. Wagner.         | Ellwood Anders.                                    |
| 21. Christoph Hübner.                                   | Wayne Heebner.                                     |
| 22. Abraham Jäckel.                                     | Near Worcester (Schwenk-<br>felder meeting house). |
| 23. Melchior Kriebel.                                   | Abraham H. Kriebel, "Rit-<br>tenhouse farm."       |
| 24. David Kriebel der Sohn.                             | Not identified.                                    |
| 25. David Neumann sein<br>Vater Christoph.              | Jacob Heebner (?).                                 |
| 26. Heinrich Schneider<br>(Tochtermann des<br>Neumann). | Ed Wahn.   |
| 27. Melchior Wagner (von<br>Armenruh).                  | Late Benjamin Wilson.                              |

Christopher Schubert dwelt in Germantown and Christopher Yeakel and David Schubert at Chestnut Hill.

It would be interesting to trace the conveyances of land more in detail but space will not permit. In many cases the properties were transmitted from father to son or son-in-law; in some cases the larger tracts were subdivided to afford means of subsistence to the different members of the family; adjoining farms were occasionally acquired or new settlements started more or less removed from the original centers. In very few cases did the homes pass

into the hands of others through the financial failure or embarrassment of the owners. In a considerable number of cases the properties have remained in the hands of the *freundschaft* that originally acquired them to the present day. In each district in which they settled they found resident and non-resident land-holders who were holding the property to profit by the rise in values. The fact must not be overlooked that not all the Schwenkfelders were land-holders, that some were renters, or day-laborers or followed some particular trade.

The toil, trial and triumph of the early times form an interesting study to which scarcely more than a reference may be made. Isaac Schultz says in substance: "All the people trusted in the care and protection of the Highest as they located themselves and felt that in plodding for their daily bread in the sweat of their brows they would receive from Him the needed strength, wisdom and courage. They began at the lowest round of the ladder, to clear the land and render it tillable, and huts and houses were put up where there were none. Each by his own industry gave evidence of a hope of better times and better conditions in life. There was scarcely any relief from the toil; the burden and heat of many a day had to be borne. The bushes and wild undergrowth were cut, grubbed and uprooted. The women helped to gather and burn the underbrush, to clear a patch for gardening or for raising flax. Plows, even the primitive plows with wooden mould-boards were scarcely known, the grubbing-hoe being used instead. As harrows, bundles of branches were dragged over the virgin soil but slightly disturbed by the plying of the hoe. The uncovered seed was devoured by wild doves and turkeys in which the forests abounded. The growing grain was relished by the deer which often gave their lives

as a sacrifice for their boldness in making free use of the settlers' crops, and thus became food and raiment for the white man." The women knew how to spin and they did spin. At first the spinning was not done with the familiar spinning wheel with treadle and distaff, but with a simple piece of wood that might easily be mistaken by the uninformed for a modern penholder ornamented with a ring near the one end. For the first few years they had no wool to spin because they could not properly care for the sheep. As soon as possible, however, sheep, horses and cattle were secured, bells were hung around their necks and they were turned loose and left to care for themselves in the primeval forest. Tradition says that before Abraham Moyer erected his mill on the Perkiomen where Leibert's mill now is below Palm, the people often ground their grain to meal by crushing it on stones or stumps of trees and removing the coarser and foreign elements by the use of sieves. Orchards were planted and distilleries were erected to change the luscious apple into the mischievous applejack.

The three Schultz brothers erected the first two-story dwelling house in the settlement. Melchior Neuman was the carpenter. Because they had no saw-mill, they were obliged to saw logs into boards by hand. They rolled the logs on a frame and thus devised a rude saw-mill of their own, human muscle above and below the log furnishing the motive power. Christopher Krauss also joined them about this time. They toiled at the loom as weavers and won fame by their fine linen. They manufactured looms, various household articles, wagon-wheels out of three-inch planks, horse collars out of plaited straw and traces for the harness out of hemp.

They tilled the ground. The crops which they did not need together with their finest grades of linen, some of



which they sold to the governor of the Province at eight shillings per yard, were taken to market.

Balzer Anders of Towamencin and George Heydrich of Salford and David Meschter of Hereford made and repaired shoes. Christopher Yeakel and David Schubert were coopers and plied their craft at Chestnut Hill. Abraham Yeakel of Worcester, and Christopher Reinwald of Towamencin were known as weavers and David Reinwald, the son of Christopher, living in Douglass as turner. George Weiss was a weaver and for a time kept three looms going and was financially successful, often being called upon to weave for others on account of the good quality of the product of his looms. He was an honest man and made honest linen. Balzer Hoffman made his spinning wheel hum practically to the end of his eventful life. David Schultz, the surveyor, served his day and generation as surveyor and general scrivener, and as such was known favorably far and wide. Christopher Schultz, of Hereford, George Kriebel, of Lower Milford, and Melchior Wagner, of Worcester, also served their neighborhoods as scriveners. David Wagener made his way into Northampton County and established himself along the Bushkill, where he grew to be a man of means and became the progenitor of numerous descendants in Easton and elsewhere.

The Schwenkfelders occasionally became non-resident land-holders to invest their savings and thus to profit by the prospective rise in values. In case of sickness, household remedies were resorted to and the industrious housewife brought into requisition the copious collection of remedies in her well-filled bag of medicinal herbs. Should professional services be needed, their faithful friends, Dr. George DeBenneville, the Universalist, of Oley, later of

Bristol, and Dr. Abraham Wagner, of Worcester, were called upon. Accidents and misfortunes, pain, sickness and death that are wont to befall man were their lot as well, but of these there is no occasion for speaking. They toiled and triumphed in their toil. Many a father of a family could say with Jacob of old: "I am not worthy of the least of thy mercies, and of all thy truth which thou hast showed unto thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this Jordan and now I am become two bands."

They had trusted their divine Saviour, and in obedience to His sweet will, left their all for righteousness' sake and their Lord rewarded them openly in this present life. They had a practical realization of the words of the master: "Every one that hath forsaken houses or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake shall receive a hundred-fold."

Thus they toiled, and in the sweat of their brow became co-workers with God in His answering their prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." In the midst of their struggles, probably some time during 1742, the following remarkable state-paper was brought to their attention, but though they were thus highly flattered and honored by Frederick the Great, they merely acknowledged the invitation with thanks and to a man clung to their newly adopted country that they had come to love so well.

"Edict to provide for the reëstablishment of the so-called Schwenkfelders in Silesia and other provinces of his Royal Majesty; de dato Selowitz the 8 of March, 1742.

"We, Frederick, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, Margrave of Brandenburg, Arch Chamberlain, and elector of the Holy Roman Empire, etc., etc.

"Be it known to all to whom these presents may come; Whereas, we do hold nothing to be so contrary to Nature,

Reason and Principles of the Christian Religion as the forcing of the subjects' consciences and persecuting them about any erroneous doctrines which do not concern the fundamental principles of the Christian Religion. We have, therefore, most graciously resolved that the so-called Schwenkfelders, who were exiled through an imprudent zeal for Religion, to the irreparable damage of commerce and of the country be recalled into our Sovereign Duchy of Lower Silesia. We have, therefore, thought fit by these presents to assure all those who possess the said doctrine, upon our Royal word that they shall and may return safely not only into our Sovereign Duchy of Lower Silesia, but also into all our provinces, peaceably to live and trade there, since we not only do receive them into our special protection, but also will give them all necessary supplies for the promotion of their commerce. And all those who several years ago were deprived of their habitations and estates in our country of Silesia, shall be reinstated without any compensation in case those estates are not paid for by the new possessors. Such as will settle in our villages shall have farms assigned to them, and care shall be taken to provide them employment and those who choose to live in towns shall, besides several ordinary Free years, have places assigned them gratis for the building of their houses for which purposes they need only apply to our Military and Domainen Chambers.

“We do therefore command our Superior Colleges of Justice and Finance, as well as all mediate Princes, Lords, Magistrates, etc., carefully to observe the same.

“In witness whereof we have signed this present edict with our own hand, and caused our royal seal to be affixed.

“Done at Selowitz, March 8th, 1742.

“L. S. V Cocceji.

“FREDERICK,

“per C. von Munchon.”



## CHAPTER V.

### EFFORTS AT CHURCH ORGANIZATION, 1734-1782.



N attempting to form a conception of the religious life among the Schwenkfelders prior to the organization of 1782, the people, their leaders, their places of residence and the general religious surroundings must be taken into account.

The situation of the people themselves, considered with respect to organized religious life, was pitiable. They had been robbed of house and home, hence were poor and a fierce struggle for daily food and raiment with consequent tendency to worldliness followed; they had been deprived of Christian fellowship, hence they could not look to the old world for aid as others could and would. Prior to 1734 they had been deprived of religious liberty, hence they had not profited by the benefits of a religious organization. They were accorded no standing by the dominant religious forces, hence they probably often felt as Dr. Abraham Wagner expressed himself to Reverend Muhlenberg: "It would be no wonder if you felt an aversion from me since I bear or must bear a despised, heretical

name." Reverend Balzer Hoffman wrote: "When they landed there was great disorder respecting homes and means of winning a livelihood. The people lost concern for the faith for which they had suffered and lapsed into lukewarmness and worldliness. The whole week was spent in a struggle for a living. Sunday meant laziness, inactivity and a light-hearted state of mind." During the first winter, the minds of all must have been in a state of suspense on account of their future homes and this also probably augmented the spiritual unrest. After homes had been acquired and means of subsistence found, the charge of their pastor George Weiss extended from Germantown, possibly Philadelphia through Gwynedd, Towamencin, Lower Salford, Upper Hanover, Hereford, Upper Milford to Macungie in Lehigh County with spurs at Falckner Swamp — now Frederick — and at Worcester.

George Weiss was a remarkable man.<sup>1</sup> At the age of thirty-three he was chosen to write the Confession of Faith of the Schwenkfelders and to answer the questions of the Jesuit missionaries. In 1733 he was called upon to take charge of the religious training of the young, probably after notice had been served that in a year's time migration would be enforced. In April, 1734, he wrote his *Kurtzes Gutachten* in which he discussed the history of the Schwenkfelders and the forming of a religious organization or Gemeinde. He also drew up stringent regulations for the intending emigrants concerning Sunday observance, holidays, marriage, the sacraments, prayer for children, conduct of the daily life, etc., etc. He was a practical apostle of the strenuous life, as is shown, for example, by having pangs of conscience at his own worldliness in operating three weaver's looms at one time. The worldli-

<sup>1</sup> The term "Reverend" is omitted in conformity with early custom.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



SPINNING WITH THE SPINDLE.



ness of the people so vexed his righteous soul that his heart poured itself out in tears. He strove, as he said, to so live that no one could take offence at any word or work of his. His conduct, bearing and general aspect were unusually plain and simple. His whole being was charged with a holy zeal for true righteousness which he as a minister manifested without abatement unto the time of his death in 1740.

The general religious condition of the community is thus described by Muhlenberg in a letter of the period: "Atheists, Deists and Naturalists are to be found everywhere; in short, there is no sect in the world which has not followers here. You meet with persons from almost every nation in the world. The young people have grown up without instruction and without knowledge of religion and are turning into heathenism."

Beside this general inclination to a low religious life in the community which tended to counteract the labors of Weiss, there were divergent tendencies among the Schwenkfelders themselves. Dr. Abraham Wagner, of Worcester, wanted to read and did read non-Schwenkfelder books and probably affected the Beyers living close by and related. Dr. Melchior Hübner living in Frederick, was an adherent of the views of Jacob Boehme, and probably influenced those with whom he came into contact. In Goshenhoppen, Melchior and David and their father, George Schultz, and Melchior Wiegner read Jacob Boehme and Jane Leade. Christopher Wiegner, of Towamencin, also an admirer of Boehme, harbored the envoys of the Moravians, and in particular Spangenberg. The "Associated Brethren of the Skippack" met at his house and vexed the souls of earnest Schwenkfelders.

Surrounded thus and hampered by adverse circumstances, George Weiss, recognized as pastor, went to



work, but he soon learned that the people could not and would not devote as much time to his ministrations as he desired, and in consequence experienced during 1735 bitter grief, dejection and discouragement. He visited various families during the summer, staying several weeks at one place, teaching the children and exercising them in catechetical questions. Some expository letters were written, but there were practically no public religious services and altogether there was not much activity. Soon after this Wiegner wrote: "My heart is often so filled with pain and sorrow in the meetings of the Schwenkfelders at their poor souls, that I cannot suppress my tears, though I speak not a word the whole time." Of Weiss he wrote: "Since we are in this country he shows such zeal and earnestness that one scarcely recognizes the earlier Weiss in him."

The contemplated marriage of two Schwenkfelders—presumably Balthasar Krauss and Susanna Hoffman—raised the question of organization. The groom came to Weiss and expressed the wish to have the ceremony performed by one of their own number. The wish was taken into consideration and as a consequence a letter was written in November, 1735, in which it was suggested to select a minister (*Vorsteher*) and two deacons (*Aeltesten*). On November 9, nine Schwenkfelders met and elected George Weiss as minister and B. H. and D. S. as deacons (Balzer Hoffman and David Seibt, in all probability), to whom they promised allegiance. A contract or agreement was drawn up and signed by the minister, the deacons and the people. This was done not as an act of union as a church, but as a means of knowing on whom the minister might depend.

Upon this Weiss assumed charge of the religious services and went faithfully and earnestly to work. Trouble

soon beset him, however. Christopher Wiegner relates that in January, 1736, Weiss called upon him and that an earnest discussion arose concerning a letter which Wiegner had written. On parting Wiegner finally promised to attend the services again. On the following fourth of April Spangenberg arrived at Wiegner's home, and thus added another factor to the religious problem. About June twentieth Wiegner made record in his diary that Weiss spoke to them and charged them to let the Schwenkfelders alone, saying that they could and would not agree, and that it would be useless to try to make Moravians of them.

Without entering into further details it may be in place to quote the following words extracted from a general letter by Weiss, dated December 15, 1737: "After having tried for a considerable time the existing plan, \* \* \* I am compelled in protection of my own conscience to avail myself of another method to prevent if possible with respect to myself a Gideonitish idolatry or a Jereoboamitish calf-worship. If you desire to use it for such purpose, I hope before God to be excused. My service concerning which I have a good conscience before God, is clearly enough expressed in the conditions of our contract or agreement and consists of this—to reveal again and bring to light according to my power our neglected theology. Formal worship is not a part of this neither is it a part of formal worship. For regular worship and a regular congregation belong together. Regular worship has indeed been established, meetings have been held, now in this place and now in that and, though one guard against it the best way possible, one can not prevent the growing out of it of an established order and custom. And it might easily happen that at my death some fickle person with a little worldly wisdom without savor or strength might allow himself to

be used to step into such place and in appearance to imitate the same. I, therefore, recall such ordinary regular service in my simplicity and will on my own account hold services, public and free to all. And thus I hope to place matters upon such a footing that when I die the plan may die with me." Weiss continued his labors, however, and another disturbance was soon created by Wiegner and Spangenberg of which more will be said in a subsequent chapter.

The Schwenkfelders did not stand by Weiss as they could and should have. On account of this non-responsiveness, Weiss for a time ceased going to Macungie and still later to Goshenhoppen to conduct services. Sickness came upon him and he was so depressed in spirit that he entertained the thought of giving up his public services altogether. The contract renewed in 1737 seemed to influence him, however, and he resolved to continue and thus to set an example to his flock. Later he conducted services at the house where he was staying and worshippers had to go there. The result was that many stayed away and lukewarmness grew. His feeling towards the people is probably fairly represented in these words, written by him in September, 1738: "The jealous spirits, the ignoble thoughts, the derogatory remarks, the secret envy and the idiosyncrasies both towards me as well as towards each other prove quite plainly that nothing is wanting more in you than the properties of a church" or organized body of believers.

The laxity of the people grew; his zeal grew likewise and toil followed in both districts as though matters had reached a final issue even while a weakness of body and constitution hampered him. Finally a serious sickness befell him that confined him to his bed. Full of hope that he would be enabled to resume his efforts for the young,

the unexpected summons came to him a week after he had met his dear children in the faith for the last time in Goshenhoppen and he was called to his reward on the eleventh of March, 1740.

The death of Weiss left the Schwenkfelders disunited and unorganized for religious services. His labors had not met the success that he deserved and the people had not reached the high ideal he had placed for them. A glance at what he tried to accomplish must suffice. He wished to secure a sacred observance of Sunday and the ordained holy days by strict cessation from work and occupation of the day by reading and meditation or attendance on public worship. The married state was to be entered upon in the fear of the Lord and all worldliness and sinful propensities were to be religiously repressed. Children were to be consecrated to the Lord and His service. In worldly avocations men were to follow Paul's advice, having food and raiment—therewith to be content. His aim as to religious services is thus described by Hoffman: "To have religious services on Sundays both forenoon and afternoon with a kind of preparatory service on Saturday evening, at which hymns were sung and religious exhortations and explanations of scripture passages were given. During the winter meetings were also held on Sunday evening at which the children were catechized and instructed. On Sundays for the regular services a sermon was read, followed by religious comments both in the forenoon and the afternoon. The three most important sacred days of the church year were observed three days, at which special services were held. Once a week a meeting was held in order that the hearts of the people might be drawn away from temporal things. The children were catechized at least two times each week and often

three times, in order that with their daily toil they might be grounded in the principles of their doctrines. Balzer Hoffman was appointed as his assistant in order that when he was away in Macungie, Goshenhoppen or elsewhere services might not be discontinued. The yearly gathering for thanksgiving, the '*Gedächtniss Tag*' or Memorial Day was sacredly observed. When the young wished to marry they were instructed previously in Christian doctrine—particularly as to holy matrimony. At funerals religious services were also held, and soon after birth the young were consecrated to the Lord."

Upon the death of Weiss it seemed for a time as if religious services would not be resumed. An arrangement was devised that, however, was destined to be short-lived. Four heads of families (*Haus-väter*) met and agreed to hold services in their houses in the hope that the same might be introductory to some better plan. Balzer Hoffman by request took charge of the services and tried to follow the plans of Weiss as closely as possible. Dissension and discord soon became manifest again. Discouragement followed and Hoffman resigned, May, 1741. The general condition of things is shown by the fact that children did not receive half the attention they had received during the lifetime of Weiss. Hoffman was appealed to. He was touched and expressed himself in two letters dated July 9, 1741, in which he laid down thirty-six propositions to which assent was given with the result that an organization was formed again and deacons were chosen. Hoffman again resigned at the close of the church year 1744, but was persuaded to resume charge soon after. These two resignations were due to want of harmony between him and the Schwenkfelders in respect to doctrine, the daily life and views about their meetings.


In 1749 Hoffman resigned for the third time on account of health, a bodily affection making speaking and singing almost impossible.

During his ministration Hoffman had charge of the regular Sunday services, funerals and the exercises on Memorial Day. At the marriages he was occasionally asked to officiate; at other times a neighboring minister or an officer of the law was called upon. The children were trained in doctrines but not as thoroughly as in the time of Weiss; the non-conciliatory and intolerant spirit of Weiss pervaded Hoffman, and had its baneful effect, repelling men like Dr. Abraham Wagner and causing a dwindling down to less than half a dozen catechumens where there might have been scores.

After the resignation of Balzer Hoffman in 1749 a general conference was talked of but not called because many felt that under existing circumstances but little good could be accomplished. Near the close of 1753, five heads of families (*Haus-väter*) agreed to visit each other in their homes in rotation every third Sunday to edify one another and to assist one another by discussing matters of doctrine. This they chose to call *Besuch*, visit, rather than *Versammlung*, meeting, because according to their view many important things belonged to a Christian meeting which they had not undertaken. Not a word was said about discipline, or the ordering of external arrangements or the necessity of rules, or the pledging themselves together as a body. The compact thus formed was regarding only as a semi-private arrangement for religious culture by the families that took part—all who wished to attend being welcome to do so. In 1759 a few more families joined in with the services and it was decided to meet every two instead of three weeks. But the system was too limited and was far

from being satisfactory. From the minutes of the general conference held in 1762, it is evident that matters seemed to be drifting to utter decay; the young people had no safe guide or direction with respect to their teaching of life, the children did not receive any catechetical instruction, there was no system for general public religious meetings, nor organization into whose hands a pious parent might entrust his children.

In view of this condition of things a general conference was held Saturday, October 9, 1762, at the house of Christopher Kriebel. The existing state among the people was discussed at some length and a paper, presented by Christopher Kriebel, was read and approved. The line of thought of said paper was that the deliverance from oppression, the replacing of the property abandoned, their preservation, the deliverance from the hands of the Indians, the blessings on their labors, the continuance of their lives should incite them to gratitude, but, to translate the wording: "We, on the contrary, have delighted ourselves in things of time; envy, slander, calumny, false accusations have separated us and the young are neglected. Such a condition of things ought to touch our hearts and cause us to tremble in view of the final judgment. We ought to turn away from these things, avoid useless disputations, live Christian lives, turn unto the Lord for direction and seek to become learners in His school. Were we to do this our yokes would be lighter and we would be reconciled to one another." A few of the lines of discussion are indicated by the following questions propounded at the conference: "(1) Will we be able to bear with one another, if a closer union is formed so that what is undertaken may not be ended in strife and works of evil? (2) Will we be willing to grant to each other the liberty of reading

<p><b>SHORT QUESTIONS</b>  <small>1824</small>  <b>THE CHRISTIAN</b>  <b>DOCTRINE OF FAITH,</b>  <small>ACCORDING TO</small>  <b>THE TESTIMONY OF THE</b>  <b>SACRED SCRIPTURES.</b>      Answered and Confirmed.  <small>FOR THE PURPOSE</small>  <small>OF ILLUSTRATING THE FIRST PRINCIPLE</small>  <small>OF BELIEF.</small>      By the Rev. Christopher Schultz, Pastor.      TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN      BY PROF. L. DANIEL RUPP  <small>1825</small>        Shippensburg, Pa.      Printed by J. M. Schenckman      1825</p>	<p><b>Kurze</b>  <b>Fragen</b>      Ueber die  <b>Christliche</b>  <b>Glaubens-Lehre.</b>      Von  <b>Heil. Schrift-Bezeugniß</b>      beantwortet und bestätigt.      Den Christlichen Glaubens-Schülern      zu einem anfänglichen Unterrichte      nützlich zu gebrauchen.      Philadelphia,      Gedruckt bey Carl. Fiß, in der      Zeyher-Straße, 1784.</p>
<p><b>Kurze</b>  <b>Fragen</b>  <small>1825</small>  <b>Christliche</b>  <b>Glaubens-Lehre.</b>      Von  <b>Heil. Schrift-Bezeugniß</b>      beantwortet und bestätigt.      Den Christlichen Glaubens-Schülern zu      einem anfänglichen Unterrichte nützlich      zu gebrauchen.        Shippensburg, Pa.      Gedruckt bei J. M. Schenckman.      1825</p>	<p><b>Catechismus,</b>      Oder  <b>Anfänglicher Unterrichts</b>  <b>Christlicher</b>  <b>Glaubens-Lehre;</b>      Allen  <b>Christlichen Glaubens-Schülern,</b>      Jung oder Alt,      Nützlich und Nützlich sich dem zu eben.      1. Corin. 3: 12.      Wenn andere Grund hat gemacht liegen, jeder dem      der selbe ist, welcher ist Jesus Christus.      Eph. 2: 10, 11.      Jesus Christus ist der Heiland, auf welchen wir      ganz dem in unserer Person, nützlich zu einem ge-      lichen Tugend in dem HEILIGEN.        Philadelphia,      Gedruckt bey Heinrich Willeit, in der      Zeyher-Straße. 1763.</p>

VARIOUS EDITIONS OF THE SCHULTZ CATECHISM.



authors other than those commonly accepted by us? (3) Will we be ready to bear with one another if in some point of doctrine we can not agree in our views?" The favorable answers given indicate plainly a decided departure from the position assumed by men of the type of Weiss and Hoffman. The meeting was altogether a heart-searching, prayerful and face-to-face consideration of the sad condition of affairs among them. The necessity for a closer union having been considered and plans devised, the want of a suitable catechism was also considered. Christopher Schultz was instructed to prepare his manuscript catechism for the press. The following spring it was put into the hands of the printer.

The system or plan devised was continued until the adoption of the constitution in 1782. Further details of the arrangement are given in a letter by Christopher Schultz substantially as follows: "The arrangement is that we heads of families (*Haus-väter*) jointly conduct our religious services. Each is as much and has as much right as the other, free and unrestrained. But he in whose house a meeting is held provides the materials for the forenoon exercises. He who has a word of exhortation of whatever nature, be it his own thoughts or selection from hymns or books, presents the same to the meeting upon which it is discussed and applied. For dinner we stay at the said house — except such as go to neighboring houses — and eat a piece of bread and butter according to necessity, the family always providing the guests with such meal. In the forenoon the exercises consist of singing, prayer, reading of the gospel lesson, singing of another hymn, reading of the sermon and closing with a prayer. In the afternoon we have *Kinderlehr*. Each pupil repeats a verse of the gospel lesson of the day and

Neu: Eingeringtetes  
**Gefang-Buch**  
 in sich haltend  
 eine  
**Sammlung**  
 (mehrere als alte)  
 schöner Lehr-reicher und erbaulicher  
**Lieder,**  
 Welche von langer Zeit her von den Vätern  
 und Kirchgelehrten der Göttern und Heiligen  
 Als Schrift der Weisheit in Übung  
 nach den Haupt-Stücken der Christli-  
 chen Lehre und Glaubens eingeordnet,  
 mit einem Verzeichniß der Titel  
 und dreyen Hunderten Regimen  
 versehen  
 Anheft: also zusammen getragen,  
 zum Lobe Gottes und heilsamen  
 Erbauung im Christenthum,  
 als hier gegeben

Gezeichnet von, gedruckt bei Christoph Sauer,  
 auf Seiner vorerwähnten Preussischen, 1767



Singen das löblichste Gedächtnis.

He, Zeit! laß dich du rufen  
 Was unter allen Thoren  
 Am besten sey zu thun?  
 Schau! was thun denn die frommen  
 Die dein Herr selbst erheben  
 Zu dienen Ihm vor seinem Thron?  
 Weil denn der Engel schauet  
 Mit tausend tausend Psalmen  
 Den schönsten Lobgesang  
 Der Gottes Thronen führen  
 Dem Lamm zujubeln,  
 Mit allerhöchstem Psallt Liana.

Neueingeringtetes  
**Gefang-Buch,**  
 enthaltend eine  
**Sammlung**  
 (mehrere als alte)  
 erbaulicher Lieder,  
 nach den Hauptstücken der Christlichen Lehre und  
 Glaubens eingeordnet

Vertheilung:  
 Gedruckt bei Conrad Zentler, in der Josephs-Strasse,  
 unterhalb der Hebe-Bühne.  
 1813.

Neueingeringtetes  
**Gefang-Buch,**  
 enthaltend  
 eine Sammlung erbaulicher Lieder,  
 nach den Haupt-Stücken  
 christlicher Lehre  
 Herausgegeben auf Verordnung  
 der  
 Schwedenkfelder Gemeinde.

Dred von S. & Danby, Superintende, 20  
 1869

VARIOUS EDITIONS OF SCHWENKFELDER HYMN-BOOKS.

all are questioned on the literal, theological and spiritual sense of the same. Catechization follows, the young being divided into classes and being treated differently according to age, etc. From this you perceive that we have not undertaken to organize a Christian denomination (*Christliche Gemeinde*) to be directed and served by ministers." The meetings were held alternately at the following houses, one Sunday in the Upper District, the following Sunday in the Lower District: Casper Kriebel, Hans Christoph Heebner, Casper Seibt, George Kriebel, Christoph Hoffman, Christoph Kriebel, George Schultz, Melchior Schultz, Christoph Schultz, Christoph Krauss, Christoph Yeakel, John Yeakel, Sr., Gregorius Schultz, George Schultz. The hymn-book used by them was the *Neueingerichtetes Gesangbuch* prepared by them and printed by Christopher Saur, 1762.

Among the salient features of this period may be mentioned the following relating to organized efforts in the line of public worship. The systematic and regular catechization of the young was begun in the spring of 1763 by Christopher Schultz and Balzer Hoffman, the latter also officiating at marriages and funerals, although not taking an active part in the established system of meetings. The following year Hoffman relinquished all public services on account of the infirmities of age, being past seventy-six at that time. In 1764 the school system described in another chapter was organized and the following year the erection of a school-house at Towamencin took place, probably the first house erected for general purposes by the Schwenkfelders in America. In 1765 the justly celebrated "Heintze Correspondence" with European friends was opened. The exchange of letters with their friends since the migration grew to large proportions, and thus

many personals were recorded and preserved that otherwise would have been lost. In 1769 a general marriage contract was drawn up which was renewed in fuller detail in 1779. These forms illustrate the method of procedure in case any of their young people wished to enter the married state. The latter is given in full in the Appendix. The scheme of worship and work thus devised, though a considerable advance on former plans, was in many respects defective as later experience showed.

Although the period from 1734 to 1782 may appear gloomy on account of the lack of hearty coöperation as a religious brotherhood by organizing a church or society true spiritual culture was by no means overlooked. George Weiss formed the habit of writing short religious tracts and sending them to the young under his charge. This he kept up nearly all his lifetime. Balzer Hoffman was also a voluminous writer. Catechization of the young was soon taken up and continued through this period. An earnestness of life was cultivated with which the church of to-day is unfamiliar. Much quiet meditation was engaged in, and hymns, sermons and other sacred writings were copied. Memorial Day was, during this period, the great day of the year. Weiss, Hoffman and Schultz in particular held forth on this day in powerful addresses which in many cases were copied and recopied and are worthy of being carefully studied. These addresses were mainly heart-searching, doctrinal sermons and must have had a strong influence in the moulding of their hearers.

The plan of services agreed upon in 1762 and continued twenty years threw more responsibility upon the individual worshipper, helped to develop a deeper spirituality and did not have the blighting effect of the modern system of thinking, singing, praying and worshipping by a paid

proxy. Marriages were not entered into as lightly as at present. Questions were asked, a sermon was preached and the occasion made almost as solemn as that of admission to church. Marriage then was a sacred sacrament and not merely a light-hearted legal pledge or promise to be broken as lightly as entered upon. This period witnessed the formation and publication of the catechism, the *Erläuterung*, and the hymn-book, the composition of many tracts on religious subjects and of the *Glaubenslehre* in particular, the compilation and transcription of large manuscript volumes still in a good state of preservation. The Charity Fund was organized, the School Fund collected and practically all the tools devised and formed which were made use of in the closer organization that superseded this transitional stage.





## CHAPTER VI.

### THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1782.



HILE considering the adoption of a constitution by the Schwenkfelders, the reader will remember that by this step the adherents of the views of Schwenkfeld entered upon a new period. Never before had a regular organization been attempted. Before 1734 this had been utterly impossible on account of state reasons beyond the control of the Schwenkfelders. After 1734 organization as a church had been resisted and thus probably prevented by Weiss and Hoffman. Of the families that migrated in 1734, only those of Melchior Kriebel, of Gwynedd and David Heebner, of Worcester, were left unbroken by death and neither of these men joined in the organization. Of the forty odd families formed in the first twenty-five years after the migration, less than a score remained and less than half a score were represented by the heads in the organization. Of those even who had joined in the organization of 1762 and had taken part thereafter in the religious services, most had passed away. The natural inference would seem to be that the original immigrants stood in the way of a more perfect union and that only

after death had removed many did organization become possible. The trend of things seemed to demand the step and discussion arose and grew. A chronicler of the times says: "It is to be noted that about the year 1781 a movement began to manifest itself more and more among our people to unite themselves more closely into a religious society, in order that in a mutual way such regulations and arrangements might be made and agreed upon among ourselves as would be serviceable to good conduct and edification and the upholding of our Christian confession of faith and the maintaining of a proper discipline. Many were indifferent, mutual mistrust seemed to fill some hearts and there was so much lukewarmness manifest that utter ruin seemed to stare the people in the face. There was great neglect in the fulfillment of ordinary Christian duties. The children were remiss in Christian culture, the young people upon and after marriage showed scant attention to the doctrines of the fathers, many seemed to be surcharged with envy and calumny and indifference concerning many serious matters prevailed."

In the movement Christopher Schultz was the leading spirit and well earned the name "Father" in this connection. Others, indeed, took important parts and should not be forgotten, but he preëminently deserves to be recognized for the leading place he filled. In the deliberations frequent reference was made to the writings of Schwenkfeld, Christopher Schultz and a recently published tract on church discipline issued by the Quakers, the duty of Christian fellowship was strongly advocated and the question raised how any one could have a right to separate himself from others.

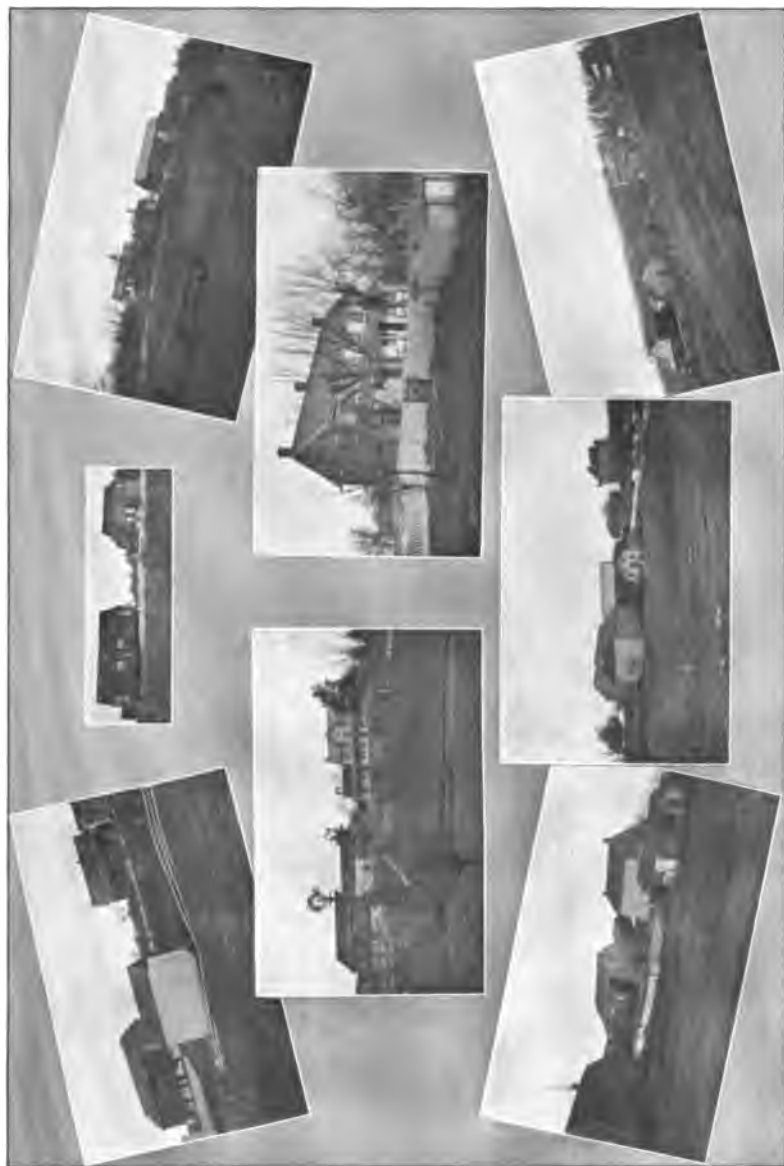
At the first constitutional convention held in the "Lower District," February 5, 1782, the condition of the Schwenk-





In the year 1800 a Christopher Schunz was the leading spirit and bore the name of "Father" in this connection. He indeed took important parts and should be remembered, but he pre-eminently deserves to be recorded in the leading place he filled. In the deliberations reference was made to the writings of Schwenkfelder, Christopher Schunz and a recently published tract on discipline issued by the Quakers, the duty of fellowship was strongly advocated and the need how any one could have a right to separate from others.

# THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



GROUP OF FARM BUILDINGS IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA OWNED AND OCCUPIED BY SCHWENKPFELDERS.  
WHOSE ANCESTORS SETTLED ON THEM AS NOTED.

A. K. KRIEBEL (ESTATE), 1735

H. H. HEEBNER, 1754.

LEVI KRAUSS, 1735.

NATHAN SCHULTZ, 1761.

JEREMIAH K. SCHULTZ, 1743.

ISAAC K. KRIEBEL.

WAYNE HEEBNER, 1762.

ABRAHAM SCHULTZ, 1730.



felders and their children was considered, some remarks were made and the following questions proposed for consideration: "(1) Is it necessary and profitable to educate children in Christian doctrine? (2) Can more time than formerly be allowed for their instruction? (3) Should a different method or other teachers be employed in teaching? (4) Should not the newly married devote more time to the study of Christian doctrine?" At the second conference held in "Coshehoppe," a rough sketch of the contemplated constitution was discussed. The third conference was held in Towamencin, June 1, 1782. After some preliminary discussion the proposed constitution as drawn up by Reverend Christopher Schultz was laid before the meeting under the name: "*Vorschlag nützlicher Stücke bey einer religiösen Gesellschaft in christliches Bedenken zu Ziehen.*" Some at once gave their assent to the scheme and others asked time for consideration. The questions raised at the first conference were then discussed. The first was answered in the affirmative, the second was laid on the table, the third was answered in the negative, and the fourth was laid on the table. It was agreed that all who gave their assent to the proposed constitution should sign it in testimony thereof. The following form of subscription, as adopted August 15, was annexed to the constitution and then signed: "We, the undersigned, hereby declare in writing, that we approve the above constitution and that it is our desire that our society may be united on said plan, and each of us hereby promises that by the help of God he will in his weakness help to promote the same." George Kriebel said on Memorial Day, 1789, that Christopher Schultz told him that the constitution was given as he first wrote it without changing a word and that he felt a movement in his heart as the same was put into his mind.

THE CONSTITUTION OR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES  
OF THE SCHWENKFELDER CHURCH, AS  
ADOPTED IN 1782.

1. Every person desiring to be a member of this Church should concern himself about a proper and approved ideal upon which the members are to be established in all things, and in accordance with which they are to form their union.

2. All those who would be in this religious association should place this foundation and ideal before their eyes as an aim set before them for which they are to strive with becoming zeal and energy.

3. In God's nature one beholds love primarily as that excellent outflowing virtue which binds together God and man. All those who wish to take sure steps for the realization of said ideal must, first of all, form and maintain their unity by this bond of perfection among themselves.

4. Built on this fundamental principle of the divine nature—namely, love—their single, immovable aim must and will be to glorify God and promote the general welfare of each member.

5. In compliance with such object, their first care in their common affairs must be directed to a proper arrangement of public worship flowing from said foundation and agreeing with said ideal.

6. The gospel or word of God is the treasure which the Lord Jesus gave his apostles, and by which, as He commanded, the nations were to be called to faith and gathered, to be nurtured and ruled. It is the chief element in public worship and the rule of all its exercises.

7. It follows that they not only ought to possess this treasure, but they must also, with care, see to it that the gospel and the word of God are preserved and practiced by them in purity and simplicity, without which they cannot be nor remain a Christian people.

8. It follows, also, that they must have persons among themselves who know, live and teach the doctrine : otherwise it would be a dead letter, and could not bring about the good referred to in 6 ; hence proper plans must be devised in this respect.

9. There follow also the unceasing effort and care for the instruction of youth, both in what may be learned in schools as also in what should be taught in the study of the word of God or Christian doctrine, without which their aim referred to in 4 cannot be maintained nor the doctrine be upheld.

10. The repeated voluntary gathering for public worship with appointment of time and place for the same belongs also to the common care and concern.

11. Besides the appointment of public worship and the practice of God's word, a religious society, if it would at all attain its object, must strive to uphold a proper discipline among themselves, in order that through the same a guard and restraint may be set against the attacks and hindrances of the evil one, and that his work may be destroyed where it has taken root ; that a good and useful deportment may be maintained in intercourse and conduct ; that the hand of mutual help may be offered under all occurrences, and that virtue and good morals may be promoted.

12. They must have fixed rules and regulations among themselves by which they may know who belong to their society or not ; they must also use diligence to keep correct records of all that is enacted by them and upon which they have mutually agreed in matters relating to discipline, in order that no one may take ignorance as an excuse, but that all may conform thereto.

13. Since good rules are necessary in the exercise of commendable discipline, the revealed will of God con-

tained in the Ten Commandments in their full and perfect sense will be to them the best and most adequate rule for the promotion of good conduct or morals, for defense against the evil, for discriminating between the good and the evil.

14. In conformity to their aim and rules, they will, besides this, also consider useful and proper regulations, so that commendable decorum may be preserved under the diverse circumstances, as marriage, training of children, family life, death, burials and the like.

15. The practice and maintenance of such discipline and regulations will always have their temptations, since we all carry these by nature in our own bosoms; it will, therefore, likewise be necessary to have faithful persons who will see to it that discipline and good order are not neglected, but maintained and promoted by each member.

16. In order, however, that such service may not be made too difficult, but be possible and endurable for such persons, each and every member, by proper regulations, must take part in said exercises and supervision, whereby at the first notice of the outbreak of an offence its progress may at once be checked, and the deacon not be troubled by it.

17. Certain conferences should also be appointed as time may occasion or the circumstances of the general welfare may demand, at which the condition of the Church, for weal or woe, may be considered, doubtful or questionable matters decided, and the general welfare and useful arrangements and institutions in general may be cared for.

The following were the original subscribers to the constitution: George Schultz, Christopher Yeakel, Christopher Schultz, Jacob Yeakel, David Schultz, Christopher Krauss, George Wiegner, Abraham Schultz, Balthasar

Schultz, Andrew Schultz, George Kriebel, Jeremiah Kriebel, David Schultz, Melchior Schultz, Balthasar Krauss, Christopher Meschter, Casper Yeakel, Christopher Schultz, Jr., Melchior Yeakel, Balthasar Schultz, Gregorius Schultz, Matthias Gerhard, Christopher Hoffman, Abraham Kriebel, Melchior Kriebel, Jr., Jeremiah Kriebel, Christopher Schultz, Abraham Kriebel, Jr., Andrew Kriebel, George Kriebel, Jr., George Heydrich, Abraham Drescher, George Heebner, Melchior Schultz, Jr., Christopher Yeakel, Jr., David Kriebel, Christopher Yeakel, Abraham Yeakel, Peter Gerhard, George Anders, George Schneider.

These 41 organizers are called *Haus-väter* (House fathers, heads of families) and a study of the names shows that in all probability they were all married men. The widows and the wives, the unmarried young men and young women are thus made conspicuous by their absence. That they were not overlooked will be shown in another connection.

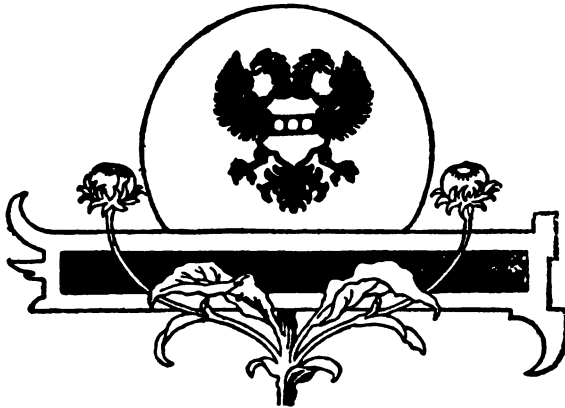
On the 23d of September a conference was held at which, among other proceedings, the following explanation was recorded; that the aim of organization into a religious body is not to set a net to be drawn tight after persons are caught, nor to make contracts that children must be put under religious instruction a certain length of time as some might suppose, but to show that the duty towards Him and our fellow-men placed upon us by God is recognized and that an effort will be made mutually to help each other to fulfill the same.

It may not be amiss in conclusion to quote the following words of Christopher Schultz penned on the occasion of the completion of the constitution. He wrote these words:



“It is indeed easy to place a proposition on paper and perhaps even to give consent to it. The proper grounding of the same within one’s self and its carrying out are a different matter. The former without the latter is but vanity, however good and necessary this may be. It is incontestible that if such a plan is to be carried out, love must have its due place and must rule within us and between us. Wherefore we must needs be concerned about this foundation and seek after it, in order that it may manifest itself in us from all sides, so that its work and fruits may give evidence that we are Christ’s disciples. The most serious question, indeed, with me is, whether at this time such a plan can continue to exist among us. Let us not flatter ourselves. For this purpose it is necessary that we place plainly before our minds the nature and marks of love as described by the Apostle Paul, and then that we look back upon ourselves to see how far these marks have shown themselves within us. The Lord tells us that he who would build a tower should first sit down and count the cost whether he have sufficient to finish it; otherwise he might as well leave it undone. He who tries to follow this counsel will here find occasion to be seriously afraid and concerned with me in consideration of the sorrowful product that manifests itself in mutual conduct and inclination. I confess that although in the projecting of the *Vorschlag*, I was favorably inclined and, as it were, led in a becoming ease of mind, certain things came up to my mind soon after that depressed me considerably. Meanwhile, giving up is a most sinful despair while God lives. Whatever weakness and shortcoming may be in us, in Him is and may be found full counsel and compensation but we do not concern ourselves about the affliction of Joseph and sleep on beds of ivory. In the name and by

the command of our faithful mediator and intercessor let us press in and besiege the throne of grace. How welcome, indeed, would we be before our holy Father in heaven, were we to implore Him for the proper thing, the gift of His love! O! my beloved! we must make up our minds to this, otherwise all our toil will be useless. We must also implore Him for the pardon of all that we have hitherto done against His love. It is also necessary that we learn to recognize and to admit our duty and show our consequent inclination heartily to pardon one another. Effect this within us all by thy Spirit, O, Father of all grace, for the merits of thy dear Son, to thine own eternal glory, Amen."





## CHAPTER VII.

### CHURCH LIFE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1782.



LL the various activities pertaining to church life conducted by the Schwenkfelders at the adoption of the constitution were of course continued and assumed by the new organization subject to the proper limiting conditions. The relation of this body to the teachings of Schwenkfeld are thus expressed by the *Formula of Government*: "The members of the Schwenkfelder church believe that the Bible is the sufficient and only infallible rule of faith and practice and in their interpretation of the same follow for substance of teaching the system of doctrine as taught by Casper Schwenkfeld of Ossig." The constitution as adopted and referred to in the previous chapter was frequently copied and thus circulated. It was first printed as an appendix to the *Erläuterung* of 1830 and became a part of the *Constitution and By-Laws of the Schwenkfelder Society*, issued in 1851, of which an English version appeared in 1882 and revised editions in 1898 and 1902, known as the *Formula for the Government and Discipline of the*

# THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN



## SCHWENKELER MEETING HOUSES IN

AND OTHER

WINTER, 1922.

PAID 1924

AND 1925



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE LIFE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1782.



THE various activities pertaining to the life conducted by the Schwenkfelders since the adoption of the constitution of course continued and were carried out by the new organization subjected to the proper limiting conditions. The relation of this to the teachings of Schwenkfeld are thus expressed

*in the Government.* The members of the Church believe that the Bible is the sufficient rule of faith and practice and in the interpretation of the same follow for substance the doctrine as taught by Casper Schwenkfelder. The constitution as adopted in the previous chapter was frequently revised and amended. It was first printed as an appendix to the *Annals* of 1830 and became a part of the *Annals and Biographies of the Schwenkfelder Society* in 1851, of which an English version appeared in 1873 and 1902, known as the *Constitution for the Government and Discipline of the*

# THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



## SCHWENKFELDER MEETING HOUSES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

- |                   |                     |                        |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| WORCESTER, 1882.  | WORCESTER, 1836.    | TOWNAECIN, 1803.       |
| BALFORD, 1869.    | PHILADELPHIA, 1898. | MOENSACK, 1838-1893.   |
| KRAUSSDALE, 1857. |                     | WASHINGTON, 1824-1883. |



*Schwenkfelder Church.* These various editions were growths and evolutions of the scheme as mapped out in 1782, adapted to the needs, wants and emergencies as they manifested themselves. The term "Church," as applied to this body of believers is of quite recent date, the earlier terms being Gemeinde, Gemeine, Gesellschaft, Society, Fraternity. The term "Schwenkfelder" is used in preference to "Schwenkfeldian" because it is the customary word in all records of the past and in legal papers of the present.

Christopher Schultz, by request, drew up an "Appeal" to the young in 1783, to encourage them to join the "Society." It was also agreed that in the case of women signing should not be called for at their admission, a mere word of assent being considered sufficient. The questions asked at the admission of members were used quite early in the history of the organization, but the authorship of the same seems to be forgotten, tradition pointing however at George Kriebel.

Christopher Schultz's "Appeal" was used frequently in entreating the young for membership, but with all this the spirit of freedom was so strong that the winning of new members was not an easy task. The records show that as early as the year 1803 there was a period of great laxity in church matters; many had wandered away to other churches, the parents were indifferent about their children and affairs in general were at a low ebb. Parents were urged by resolution to use proper efforts to encourage their children to join the society and members pledged themselves anew to use diligence to promote the welfare of the body. In cases of discipline names of offenders were omitted from the minutes and an effort was made to win back those who for any reason had severed their connec-



tion with the society. During this period many of the young people neglected to join the church until they expected to be married, when the rules and regulations made membership a necessity if they hoped to have the ceremony performed by a minister of the society.

By resolution it was agreed in 1828, at a conference that children over whom the prayer for children had been pronounced should be considered members of the society. This rule was a dead letter and is not regarded at all by present regulations. At various periods defections took place to other religious bodies. Joshua Schultz said: "It has never been the custom of these people to make proselytes; on the contrary, they were content when they were not assailed by others on this account. However, notwithstanding their endeavor to conduct themselves as the *Stille im Land* and attend to their own calling, they did not escape these troubles." For the last twenty-five years the church has enjoyed a more earnest effort to win membership and the cold indifference has been replaced by a more becoming zeal.

*Meeting Houses.*—The first place for public worship owned by the Schwenkfelders in America was erected of logs in the summer of 1790 where the present Hosensack meeting house now stands. At one end a school-room was partitioned off, supplied with tables and benches, where for many years a parochial school was conducted. The first services in this building were held August 8, 1790, the tenth Sunday after Trinity. This log building was replaced by a more modern though plain and unpretentious stone structure in 1838 which a noted minister was accustomed to call a mill. It was remodelled in 1893. The second meeting house was erected in 1791 where the present Washington Meeting House stands. The first ser-

vices at this place were held on Memorial Day, Saturday, September 24, 1791. In 1824 it was proposed to build a new and more modern house of worship. Neither the vigorous resistance of David Schultz against the sacrilegious destruction of the old building nor the plea of others to build the new house at a place near the present Palm Station so as to have only one place of worship prevailed and the new building went up the same year. It was remodelled in 1883.

The first meeting house in the so-called Lower District was erected in 1793 where the present Towamencin meeting house stands. The school-house that stood there and had done service for many years, probably gave way for this new structure. The first services were held July 21, 1793, the eighth Sunday after Trinity. According to Edward Mathews: "This building was of logs, pebble-dashed, with the gable ends weather-boarded and painted red. There was a portico in front with seats on either side. The date over the portico was of 1795 (3?)." This building was replaced in 1854 by a plain stone structure which in turn gave way to the present brick building in 1893. In 1825 the first Kraussdale meeting house was built which did service until 1857 when it was replaced by the present brick building which was remodelled in 1900.

The present meeting house at Lower Salford, the first at that place, was erected in 1869. At these five places of meeting, school children were taught in the week during the winter months practically up to the adoption of the public school system. In 1835 the question was raised whether it would not be advisable to erect a house of worship in the Worcester district. The result was that the following year a meeting house was erected where the Worcester meeting house now stands. This was re-

placed by the present, more modern building in 1882. It is worthy of note that the latter building was the first one to have a basement for Sunday-school purposes erected by the Schwenkfelders and that this innovation met with considerable vigorous opposition. When the Towamencin meeting house of 1893 was built, the basement was regarded a desirable improvement and no opposition was encountered. The first Mission church building was that of the First Schwenkfelder Church in Philadelphia, Pa., and was dedicated October 23, 1898.

*The Ministry.*—At the time of organization, brethren were elected to whom the customary ministerial duties were entrusted. This action did not imply the creation of a priestly class or a recognition of a division of the membership into clergy and laity. Duties were then not as exacting nor the services as frequent as now ; men were chosen who had been brought up in the atmosphere of the teachings of the Schwenkfelders and had thus been indoctrinated quite thoroughly. No fixed salaries were paid — in fact practically no financial remuneration was given, though the ministers were not allowed to live in want. Although no distinct previous resolution had been passed when the first edition of the *Constitution and By-Laws* was adopted in 1851, a clause was inserted in the By-Laws saying that the minister was to perform his services gratis, quoting (or rather misquoting) Christ's word, "Freely ye have received, freely give," specifying, however, that the ministers were to be excused and exempted from all outlays which occur in the church and which may be called church expenses. This was not in harmony with the teaching of the *Glaubenslehre* adopted half a century before by the Schwenkfelders saying that it is a duty of hearers towards the preachers, "*Sie nach Nothdurfft zu*

*versorgen.*" As years rolled on and the changes incident to the life of the community manifested themselves a different view began to prevail as embodied in the *Formula of Government*, 1898. With no prospect of any financial remuneration, young men could scarcely be expected to take a full course of theological training as is the present custom the youngest ministers, Rev. O. S. Kriebel, being a graduate of Oberlin University and Theological Seminary, and Rev. E. E. S. Johnson, of Princeton University and the Hartford Theological Seminary. The ministers were elected by the male members of the church by ballot and were expected to assume duty at once. They served for a period of several years as "Licentiates," or "*Lehr-Candidaten*," before they were made full ministers. The average of the ages of these candidates at their final election from first to last is 44 years. Good results were obtained, but it would be rash to say that the best possible results can be obtained by such methods. On account of the rural type of membership the ministers were in nearly every case farmers who followed such worldly vocation in connection with their pastoral duties.

Though these servants of God had not studied in the theological schools and did not receive pay in dollars and dimes for their labors it would be unjust to think of them as weak, unlearned, unsuccessful preachers. Reverend John Schultz (1772-1827), who had been brought up under these circumstances and who, while toiling as a farmer, served his church very acceptably as a minister, in transmitting a sketch of the Schwenkfelders, wrote a letter to Pastor Plitt, of Philadelphia, 1820, that called forth these words: "This letter seems to be filled with such a spirit of love and moderation that John the beloved disciple might accept it as his own. In orthography and the simple but

strong and pure old German style, the writer surpasses many of our present young ministers. We are told that this man, although a farmer, has devoted considerable attention to theological knowledge and has attended a Latin school."<sup>1</sup> Of Christopher Schultz, Jr. (1777-1853), Rev. C. Z. Weiser had this to say: "Tall, venerable, talented, self-educated and pious, he won their esteem and love as well as the good-will of the surrounding Church membership. \* \* \* Through him more especially, had the intercourse and fellowship with the Reformed and Lutheran congregations become intimate. At well-nigh every funeral occasion, the Schwenkfelder pastor Schultz was invited to officiate at the house of mourning. So far indeed had he gradually and quietly ingratiated himself into the love and esteem of the Reformed congregations especially that during a vacancy occurring in the history of one of the latter, through the pastor's death it was seriously proposed to employ Pastor Schultz as a supply until a pastor of their own should be elected."<sup>2</sup>

*The Diaconate.* — According to the constitutional provision, at a conference held November 11, 1782, it was agreed to elect four deacons, two for each district, and a committee was appointed to draw up regulations for said office. At the next conference the following report of the committee was adopted: "(1) In each district two persons shall be elected as deacons. (2) The main rule for the guidance of the deacons shall be the ten commandments. (3) Attention must be paid by said deacons to all classes, the young and the old, alike. (4) In case of complaint by members, the deacons must see that the complainants themselves fulfill their duties. (5) They are

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<sup>1</sup> Hosensack Academy.

<sup>2</sup> *Mercersburg Review*, July, 1870.

not to give judgment in any case until they have heard both sides of the case. (6) The deacons are to be no respecters of persons. (7) Offenses of a private nature should be adjusted as quietly as possible.

At the fall conference, 1798, it was agreed that three deacons instead of two, should be elected for each district and that the oldest in office should be ineligible for one year. The latter provision was cancelled in 1803. The expected happened and the burden of the work was thrown upon a few members who were reëlected from year to year. On account of the frequent reëlection of the same officers, a rule was adopted in 1857 by which a deacon could not be his own successor. The spirit of the rule was carried still farther by a resolution of 1888 according to which a deacon at the close of his term of office is ineligible for three years. The deacons are the regular channels for attending to the temporal affairs of the church, and are set as watchers to keep guard over the lives of the members.

*Incorporation.* — The school trustees held the property used by the Schwenkfelders in the furtherance of their educational enterprise and naturally became the custodians of the property when they began to build houses of worship. When in 1838 the Flinn will contest was forced on the Society or more particularly on the "Charity Fund," the argument was used that no such body as the "Society of Schwenkfelders" legally existed and that therefore all bequests to the said fund were null and void. The defense was that such society had existed for a hundred years and that they were well known and the only body known by that name. To remedy the defect and insure a legal holding and transferring of property, the trustees and treasurers of the Charity and the Literary Funds were incorporated under the style and title of "The Managers of

the Literary and Charitable Funds of the Society of Schwenkfelders." The exigencies connected with mission work developed a necessity of amending the said charter which was accordingly done in 1897 with the purpose of adapting it to the changed conditions and requirements.

*The Charity Fund.* — The Schwenkfelders came to this country poor and had to struggle for a living but they never allowed those to suffer with whom they were thrown in church relationship. The raising of money to help a needy brother in 1768 occasioned the founding of the Charity Fund in 1774. The caring for the poor, the suffering and the unfortunate being naturally one of the duties of a Christian church, the fund was appropriately assumed by the society at its organization. In defining the scope of the fund in 1789, it was agreed that the fund was to be devoted to the alleviation of the condition of the poor and to other worthy causes. In the year 1790 each district began to elect its own treasurer of the fund and this has been the case since. In the spring conference, 1815, it was agreed that aid might and should be given to the poor even if not connected with the society. Edmund Flinn, who died in 1836, bequeathed a portion of his estate to the fund. The will being contested, litigation followed. A charter was secured as stated above; the will was sustained and in 1845 the fund finally received the bequest. In 1855 it was agreed to give money out of the fund to the ministers to be distributed as they saw fit among the poor by way of charity. This regulation happily did not become a custom. By resolution it was later agreed to pay out of the Charity Fund the bills for medical attendance on ministers and the expenses incurred in repairing church buildings. The scope of the fund was widened still further by the resolution of 1890

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



GROUP OF SCHWENKFELDER MINISTERS.

JOSHUA SCHULTZ,  
1806-1892.

JACOB MESCHTER,  
1818-1891.

GEORGE MESCHTER,  
1808-1887.

JOHN B. KRIEBEL,  
1841-1882.

REUBEN KRIEBEL,  
1820-1890.

WILLIAM S. ANDERS.

O. S. KRIEBEL.

GEORGE K. MESCHTER.

EDWIN S. ANDERS.

E. E. S. JOHNSON.





according to which the deacons have the right to appropriate the unexpended interest each year for general church purposes. The fund was raised by Sabbath collections, bequests, thank offerings, interest, sale of books, donations, etc.

*Board of Publication.* — This board was created at the adoption of the *Formula of Government* and sprang out of the committee for the publication of the *Corpus Schwenkfeldianorum*. Prior to this the publication of books was attended to by special committees appointed for such purpose. A few publications were issued by private enterprise, and later assumed by the society.

*Missions.* — In mission work the Schwenkfelders as a body have proportionately not accomplished the amount of work done by other religious societies. Poverty, location and the treatment received at the hands of others may in part account for this. Neither have they heralded their deeds abroad nor received credit for what they did through various other denominational channels. As a body they raised money for Bible societies, tract societies, educational purposes and mission boards irrespective of sectarian lines. As individuals they gave succor to many a worthy cause without letting the one hand know what the other was doing. By the incorporation of the Mission Board, renewed impetus was given to mission labors, and a channel afforded by which the gifts of members to such cause may receive proper credit and the whole effort be systematized. Though only called into existence as late as 1895, the board has already become the arm for reaching out and building up the First Schwenkfelder Church of Philadelphia, the first mission of the church, organized December, 1898. It is also conducting work in China, India and Armenia.

*Literary Fund.* — The system of schools inaugurated in 1764 became a part of the work of the Society. The school plan will be considered in a subsequent chapter (Chapter IX.). By conference action 1823, the system was placed directly in the hands of the society, all members being eligible as trustees and having the right of voting. The fund was thereafter devoted to the repairing of the school-houses, the education of poor children and other benevolent purposes. As thus reorganized the fund has been known in later years as the Literary Fund devoted mainly to the publication of books and tracts.

*Secret Societies.* — In reference to secret societies, it may be in place to remark that the whole trend of the life and doctrine of the Schwenkfelder faith is opposed to the very idea and spirit of secresy, to the taking of all oaths, to the unchristian rules regulating their membership and administration of funds. At the fall conference, 1820, in conformity with the spirit of the times then prevalent the question was raised "whether, on account of the continued spread of the so-called order of Free-Masons, it is not necessary to indicate the sense of the society in reference to such societies for the sake of our members and our children." The following resolution was accordingly adopted: "Since the order of Free-Masons is clothed in mystery and in many dark, typical and curious customs and much that is offensive is presented in their processions and in the bearing of their members, and since we are directed by the Bible and the writings of the Fathers away from sin to our salvation and Saviour, Jesus Christ, we must in the highest degree disapprove their course if any of our members bind themselves by oaths to such orders, and their course must be regarded as impertinent behavior and we would herewith exhort all to keep

aloof from the same and on the contrary abide by Paul's word, 'mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate.'" In 1851 the following was adopted: "Resolved, further, that it is contrary to and against the doctrine and confession of this church that any member should connect himself with any such order or with any secret society as, for example, the Order of Free-Masons, Odd Fellows and the like." After considerable discussion the General Conference of 1897 agreed on a statement embodying the earlier position and giving more explicit reasons for the same.

*Marriage Regulations.* — The following regulations relating to marriage were adopted at the fall conference, 1783. (1) The contracting parties must both be of our own confession. (2) The consent of parents or guardians on both sides must be secured. (3) The groom is to announce his intentions to one of the ministers, who is to inquire whether conditions one and two have been complied with, whether both have become members of the society, and whether they are willing to help to advance the interests of the society. Ministers have the right to refer the groom to the deacon and he to the society if the answers are not satisfactory. (4) Such persons are to be instructed in Christian doctrine. (5) Bans shall be published. It was also resolved that in case the bride did not belong to the society the groom was to try to persuade her to become a member, and if she did not, the ministers were not to perform the marriage ceremony. The following year, at the request of the society, Christopher Schultz drew up a form of betrothal that might be recommended to the young. The society was opposed to the intermarriage of those who are closely related and at various times had occasion to take up cases for consideration where the young failed to keep

this in mind. The rules and customs relating to marriage and admission of members so frequently led the young to put off the joining of church until they expected to be joined in marriage that the matter on several occasions became the subject of discussion in general conferences. In 1827 the following resolution was adopted: "When a person or persons of our confession or members of our society have been married by ministers not of our society and have afterward expressed sorrow for such step to a minister or deacon, it shall become the duty of the ministers to ask such party in public meeting whether he is still sorry for such step, and if a satisfactory answer is received such party shall not be excluded from membership." In 1851 the question of "mixed marriages" was again raised and it was resolved that, according to the doctrines maintained by the society, both parties ought to belong to the same faith. In 1866 it was agreed to permit the performance of the marriage ceremony by ministers without publishing the bans, if one or both parties did not belong to the society, but to require the same in all other cases. The custom became a dead letter without conference action about the year 1877. The restrictions and regulations thus imposed at various times were gradually moderated or abandoned, so that many became a dead letter long before the revision of 1897.

*Church Discipline.*—The very object of the organization included the idea of discipline and the members would have been grossly derelict in their professed purposes as a society if they had paid no attention to the faults of their erring brethren. In 1784 it was resolved that members who were guilty of such excesses or vices as dancing, swearing, drinking, gambling, etc., were to be reproved publicly and were to make public confession that they had

done wrong, that they were sorry for the same, that they asked pardon and would promise to avoid such sins in the future. In 1797 it was agreed that members who failed to pay their debts excluded themselves by their own conduct from the rights of membership. Hence they could be treated as non-members and might be sued at law. The church had its cases of discipline like other churches; the members erred in their ways as do those of other confessions. Many of these failings have been covered by the mantle of the past and the charitable hearts of the members blotted out the record of these shortcomings by a resolution adopted in 1805, that all reference in the minutes to former cases of discipline was to be stricken out and that in future such cases were not to be recorded. Work of a disciplinary character by deacons was thus consigned to oblivion and can not be referred to for precedence. Later on, however, the secretaries made such direct reference in their minutes to persons involved in discipline that it becomes easy to identify the parties under consideration. Cases of drunkenness, strife between members, improper use of money, unjust settlement of estates, fraud, etc., are noted in the minutes and in a few instances were continued from conference to conference. In these cases the action was calm, firm, charitable, deliberate. As a final resort after the failure of efforts at redemption, membership was cancelled. If those whose names were thus cancelled afterwards mended their ways, they were on proper expressions of penitence and confession received again. In the year 1846 the question was raised whether it would not be proper to substitute confession in conference for confession in open meeting before the society which had been the custom since 1784 but no change was effected. In 1852, however, a modification was brought about. It

was then unanimously resolved that, in cases of discipline where the transgression does not bring a stain upon the whole society, and the transgressor after due exhortation professes proper penitence for his errors, no public confession should be required, but that if on account of the position assumed by the transgressor the matter had to be brought before the conference, public confession should be required. This regulation was amended in 1865 so that public announcement was to be made in case of private confession. The deacons were the ordinary channel through which the church administered its cases of discipline. At times committees were appointed to hear and adjust cases or report the same to conference.

*Church Business.*—In the transaction of business as a society, no distinction was or is made by Schwenkfelders, between minister and layman, all having equal rights and privileges. Regular general conferences have always been held twice each year and special conferences as occasion required. District conferences met from time to time but seemingly no clear limitation of rights was made between the general and district conference. A moderator and a secretary for each district were elected at the general conference who usually, through reëlection, served many years in succession. The conferences were and are purely democratic in theory, but in practice neither the young male nor the female members seemingly took any great part in the deliberations, during the early days of the organization. In the early minutes one reads that the *Haus-väter* met and in the *Constitution and By-Laws* of 1851 that the ministers are to be elected by the *Haus-väter*. This term should mean head of a house, but it seems to have been used in the sense of male members. It was made to mean members by the *Constitution*

*and By-Laws* of 1851 and male members by the English translation of the same in 1888. By the *Formula* of 1898 all members have equal rights and privileges. With respect to the transaction of business the following items may be noted. In 1782 it was agreed that it should be the duty of members to report to the secretary all subjects that they wished to have discussed at conference. Voting by ballot was agreed upon in 1783 with the proviso that the voting was to be secret and that those who were not in attendance at any particular conference might send their ballots. A resolution was adopted calling upon the moderator to make an address appropriate to the occasion, a summary of which was to be inserted in the minutes. In 1815 a question arose concerning the taking of testimony from parties who were not members of the society. It was agreed that such taking of testimony should be permissible but that such witnesses should not be admitted to the conference. At the conference in October, 1840, the custom of opening the session with prayer was made by resolution the established rule. At the fall conference, 1849, the question was raised whether the members were sufficiently acquainted with the constitution and regulations of the society and whether some persons might perhaps not have failed to become members through lack of such information. Accordingly, Reverend Joshua Schultz was authorized to prepare for publication a summary of the laws and regulations in force which was published under the title, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Schwenkfelder Society, 1851*.

*Clothing.* — The subject of clothing is a comparatively wide one and affords interesting material. The matter has been frequently discussed in public and in private, and has led to many a misunderstanding and censorious word. Individuals have run to extremes, but the confer-



ences have as a rule been moderate in expression of opinion. In 1786 the following regulations were made with respect to clothing: (1) To discountenance all new modes, goods and styles that evidently only serve to clothe oneself in an extravagant and shameless manner to draw attention and to cultivate pride. (2) To permit members to use such styles in their clothing as are used generally by the good people of the community, forbidding unjust criticism of those who saw fit to adopt what all the common people of the vicinity were using. (3) To encourage the use of home-made clothing, of what members can raise and prepare for themselves. In 1842, after considerable discussion, the rules as given in the *Constitution and By-Laws of 1851*, were adopted as follows: "In order that with the mode of dress there may be no abuse practiced, it must be (1) comfortable, protecting both the body and the health, (2) it must be adapted to prevent evil desires, that those members are thereby covered whose sight might stir up impure desires. It may (3) be suitable to one's condition, that is, one may wear such clothing as other Christian and reasonable people of our condition, which best indicate and promote purity and humility. A Christian may (4) according to the circumstances of the times arrange his clothing, that he may for example go forth on a festival day different than upon a time of mourning. (5) He may also adapt himself to the custom of the time and place when such custom does not contain in itself anything that is sinful and does not conflict with propriety of conduct and decency, and whilst he does not place any holiness in this that he wears the old style of clothing, he nevertheless should guard against, at the same time, imitating all the new styles and much less will he make it his business to introduce new styles. They followed Pope's famous rule:



SPECIMEN OF SCHWENKFELDER PEN WORK, ORIGINAL IN FOUR COLORS.

"In words, as fashions, the same rule will hold ;  
Alike fantastic, if too new of old ;  
Be not the first by whom the new are tried,  
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside."

It is probable that no attempt was at any time made to prescribe any religious garb or dress for the members, although custom had considerable influence over them even in this respect, and they seemingly were known by their clothing.

*Memorial Day.* — At the organization in 1782, the officiating at memorial days, observed since 1734, was by vote made a regular duty of the ministers, the distinctive religious tone of the services being thus preserved. Since 1791 the exercises with one exception have been held alternately in the meeting houses in the so-called Upper and Lower districts, on the twenty-fourth of September or on the twenty-fifth, if the twenty-fourth fell on Sunday. On account of having forenoon and afternoon sessions, provision for dinner at the house of worship has been made each year, presumably from the earliest observance of the day, so that worshippers would not be compelled to return to their homes for the noonday meal. After dismissal the benches were covered with pure white linen, and on the table thus hurriedly prepared a simple repast of bread, butter and apple butter was soon spread and served, each helping himself with due decorum, and always heartily enjoyed. The exercises on these days have uniformly been of a devotional nature. The singing of hymns, the offering of prayers, the delivery of one or more sermons, the recounting of the cause of the observance of the day have always been a part of the program. In recent years there has been a tendency to widen the scope and influence of the day by trying to secure for it a more general attendance by descendants irrespective of church connections.

*The Sacraments.* — A few words seem in place in this connection bearing on the use or non-use of the sacraments among the Schwenkfelders. In Europe they did not celebrate the sacraments because the church and the state would not allow them. Immediately after the migration they were in such a disorganized condition that the institution of such an important step could not be thought of. The lack of complete organization before 1782 was regarded a valid reason for not instituting the sacraments. This non-use had become a fixed and deeply-rooted habit at the time of the organization, the influence of which has scarcely disappeared at the present day. The position of the people on this subject at the time of the organization is indicated by the following facts. Christopher Schultz issued the first edition of his catechism in 1763. In revising it he had the advice of all the Schwenkfelders and the advantage of the use of it for twenty years. In the second edition, issued 1784, he answered affirmatively the following question, not found in the first edition: Does baptism, therefore, belong to the proper service of the gospel? In his *Compendium or Glaubenslehre*, Christopher Schultz, at the close of the discussion of the sacraments of the New Testament, says: "We should carefully guard ourselves against all abuse of this sacred institution in order that we may not fall under the condemnation of the Lord. Inattention to the same must be displeasing to the Lord and contrary to His will of love, since He well knew what is good and wholesome for us and serviceable to the increase of His Kingdom and Christian Communion." Directly after the organization in 1782, the ministers were instructed to preach several sermons each year on the sacraments. In response to this, Christopher Kriebel preached a series of twenty sermons, two each year, on Baptism and

the Lord's Supper. George Kriebel preached a like series and Christopher Schultz also began a series. John Schultz wrote a letter which was published in a German paper of the year 1820, from which the following words are quoted: "That the sacraments are not outwardly observed results mainly from the cause that our forefathers in Germany did not have the freedom to gather a church and observe them as they deemed proper. On their grievous journey from Silesia to Saxony and thence across Holland and the sea and during the first years in this country, the subject was not to be thought of. They thus had to work their way through for more than 200 years without such holy services. At their closer organization in 1782, omission had become custom that has continued since, but we flatter ourselves with the hope that such things may in the future not be left out of consideration." About the year 1840, a considerable discussion arose about the institution of the sacraments which finally led to the resolution that the ministers should have the right to baptize and hold communion with all the believers (members) who sincerely desired the same. During the years 1856-58, another period of discussion manifested itself, the outcome of which was that the ministers were appointed a committee to draw up rules and regulations for the proper observance of the sacraments. The committee met, and after some effort, compromised on a report, and then the matter came to a rest again. Agitation started up anew about the year 1874, which led to the publishing of the committee report of 1858 and of two sermons by Weiss and Hoffman and finally resulted in the institution of the sacraments in the Lower District at the private house of Anthony K. Heebner in 1877. A wave of earnest discussion, argument and re-crimination followed which occasioned the appointment of

a compromise committee in 1888. This committee went to work, toiled on and finally made its report, which was adopted and printed in 1894. By virtue of the committee report, opportunity was given in the Upper District for baptism and communion and has been regularly continued since. The charge has often been made that the Schwenkfelders are opposed to the sacraments, but the charge can not be substantiated. The published writings, the many unpublished manuscripts, the action of conferences, verified traditions, are all evidence to the contrary. Many a vigorous protest may be found against the abuse of the sacraments in these references, but against the proper use thereof none whatever. The fact is not overlooked that all along individuals have maintained the views of the Friends about the use of externals, but these never represented the consensus of opinion of their fellow-members as a body.

It will not be amiss to close this chapter by quoting the following from a recent tract :

**“PRESENT MODES OF ACTIVITY.**

“1. The ministry — jealously guarded as to purity of doctrine of incumbents by the members of the churches.

“2. Public worship — evangelical, simple, flexible as to time and manner.

“3. Sunday-schools — maintained since the migration in 1734.

“4. Catechetical instruction — adapted to train the young in the doctrines of the church.

“5. Charity Fund — founded in 1774, through which the church has always cared for its unfortunate members.

“6. Perkiomen Seminary — a preparatory school for both sexes.

“7. Board of Missions — incorporated in 1895.

“8. Board of Publication — the publishing medium, conducting the work on the *Corpus Schwenkfeldianorum*.

“9. Ladies' Aid Societies — organized to direct and undertake certain lines of charitable work.

“10. Christian Endeavor Societies — working in harmony with the United Society.”





## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SCHWENKFELDERS AND ZINZENDORF IN PENNSYLVANIA.



Y object in this chapter will be to summarize the chief items of interest relating to the connection between Count Zinzendorf as their former friend in need and the Schwenkfelders after their migration in 1734. The earlier experiences have been touched upon in

a different connection. For a discussion of the general development of Moravian church life in America, the kind reader is referred to special books on the subject.

In *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, Vol. I., page 157, the statement is made that "George Bönisch, Christopher Baus and Christopher Wiegner arrived at Philadelphia on the *St. Andrew*, Captain Stedman, September 22, 1734. This vessel brought the Schwenkfelders whom Zinzendorf had received at Berthelsdorf, on their banish-



ment from Silesia. Bönisch accompanied them to Pennsylvania at their request and during their stay resided at Wiegner's." These are the three to whom Cranz refers in his history in these words: "Three brothers were sent with them (the Schwenkfelders) who at the request of them were to aid in caring for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Schwenkfelders." Recognition of such a mission and request in the writings of the Schwenkfelders has not been brought to light. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, A.M., of the University of Jena, later Bishop of the Moravian Church, than whom Count Zinzendorf alone stood higher in the councils of the Moravian Church, had expected to accompany the Schwenkfelders because he had noticed in them an earnest Christian spirit, but when knowledge came that they were to go to Pennsylvania and not to Georgia as he himself had hoped, Spangenberg was delegated to conduct a company of Moravian emigrants to Georgia. While Schwenkfelders were founding new homes in Pennsylvania, Spangenberg was caring for the band of Moravian immigrants who had arrived in Savannah, March, 1735. After he had established the infant colony and had been ordained a presbyter of the Moravian Church by Bishop Nitschman who had recently arrived in the colony of Georgia, he left March 15, 1736, with letters of recommendation from Governor Oglethorpe to Thomas Penn to take up his mission proper in Pennsylvania. Christopher Wiegner must have been expecting him on his farm at Towamencin about this time. He wrote in his diary, April 3: "I came home tired from plowing but said that if Spangenberg were in the city, I would go that night to see him." The next day Wiegner said he must come. Hardly had he said this when in stepped Spangenberg and surprised them as the family

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INTERIOR OF SALFORD MEETINGHOUSE.



SCHWENKFELDER GRAVEYARD AT CHESTNUT HILL.

Wagner accompanied them to Pennsylvania, and during their sojourn at Philadelphia he was joined by three to whom Cranzer fees were paid. Three brethren were sent to Philadelphia, who, at the request of the Moravian brethren, and spiritual fathers, secured the recognition of such a mission by the Synod of the Scheynwalders. Augustus Godwin Spangenberg, later Bishop of the Moravian Church, and Count Zinzendorf alone, in the estimation of the Moravian Church, had the right to call the Scheynwalders because he lived in the true Christian spirit, but when he came to go to Pennsylvania and Spangenberg, who had hoped, Spangenberg, the majority of Moravian emigrants were founding new settlements. Spangenberg was caring for the emigrants who had arrived in Savannah, Georgia, and published the information that he had a proselyte of the Moravian Church, the German who had recently arrived in Georgia, he left March 15, 1736, and returned from Governor Oglethorpe's mission proper in Pennsylvania. Wagner must have been expecting the emigrants about this time. He wrote on April 3: "I came home tired from the journey, and that if Spangenberg were in the city, I might see him." The next day Wagner came. Hardly had he said this when Spangenberg and surprised them as the family

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



INTERIOR OF SALFORD MEETINGHOUSE.



SCHWENKFELDER GRAVEYARD AT CHESTNUT HILL.



sat at the dinner table. From this time on until his recall to Europe in 1739 he made his home with Wiegner, going away of course for longer and shorter periods on account of his duties as demands came upon him.

The object of the coming of Spangenberg, as of Wiegner, Baus and Bönisch, was in part at least to bring the Schwenkfelders over to the Moravian faith. On the day following his arrival he wrote: "I will visit the people, offer them my peace, place myself at their service, hear, ask and answer as it may please them, wishing that God Himself may open a door." During his stay he would, as opportunity presented itself, take part in the operations of the farm. Reichel says: "He took many practical lessons in ploughing, threshing and other agricultural elements, by which he became well qualified for future usefulness in the economies of Bethlehem and Nazareth." To his dying day he looked back with pleasure to the happy and peaceful days spent on the Wiegner farm. Wiegner makes many references to these experiences to which space permits but fragmentary reference.

On the fifth of May, 1736, Bishop David Nitschman arrived and on the eighth went to "Cainstook" accompanied by Spangenberg. The Bishop left again on the twenty-second of May. About the middle of the month Spangenberg wrote that the Schwenkfelders who lived greatly scattered received him in love on his visits and that he hoped that many might be converted. Wiegner relates that they were at Kriebel's (probably Melchior Kriebel's) on the twentieth of June, 1736, and that Spangenberg spoke and Bönisch prayed. George Weiss soon called at their home and remonstrated with them saying that "we disturbed them and that we should let them alone, that they would leave us alone, that we were not agreed and

that he knew of many people who prayed and acted very earnestly of whom terrible things were heard later ; and that it was in vain to unite the Schwenkfelders and the Moravians. \* \* \* Because Spangenberg spoke very mildly and peaceably we would have to wait a few years to see whether he would continue thus." On the ninth of July, Weiss made a call at Wiegner's and had an extended discussion of doctrinal points with Spangenberg and they seem to have been quite friendly. The next day Spangenberg left for St. Thomas deputized by Nitschman to hold a visitation. Thus he was called away from his work for a season. He returned in November, following.

In February, 1737, George Neisser arrived at Wiegner's. He had been deputized by the brethren in Georgia to report their distress to Spangenberg and to urge him to repair to London to lay their grievances before the "Trustees for the Colony of Georgia." Wiegner relates that he and Spangenberg early in March discussed the advisability of visiting Georgia, that in April after consultation, the Schwenkfelders advised his going, upon which he made up his mind to go. On the twenty-ninth of April, Weiss and Spangenberg started afoot for Germantown, arriving there about midnight. Wiegner records thanks for the blessed communion on the way. In May, Spangenberg sailed for Georgia accompanied by John Eckstein. In August, Wiegner wrote a letter to Count Zinzendorf in which he related Spangenberg's affairs and requested instruction concerning certain letters and the standing of George Bönisch, since it was good neither for him nor for the others that he did not know how long he was to stay. He also spoke of the kind reception given to Spangenberg by the Schwenkfelders.

Spangenberg returned from Georgia to Wiegner's early in September, 1737. In December the two went to Philadelphia. They seem to have had a warm discussion, Spangenberg wanting to start special regulations in external matters, like eating, sleeping and clothing. Wiegner wrote: "God gave grace that we could understand each other, and Spangenberg made promises and we loved each other and rejoiced together." On the thirtieth of December Wiegner entered this interesting note in his diary: "Started on our journey. Neither of us felt well, yet we had a prompting towards such a journey. The Lord made all things work together for the best. Until we came to the Swamp, we were in great distress spiritually. We sang and prayed in our misery and comforted each other and the grace of love and communion manifested itself strongly on the whole journey." On the seventh of January they came back from the visit in blessing and peace. It is probably with reference to this trip that George Neisser says: "Spangenberg and Christopher Wiegner at one time made a visitation to Falckner Swamp, Oley and Conestoga among the Ephrata brethren and among the so-called 'New-mooners' in Conestoga Swamp with John Zimmerman and found many upright souls, but greatly divided with respect to theories and non-essentials."

Wiegner made the following entry in his diary January 19, 1738: "Attended services at M. Kriebel's. George Weiss said the Bible was a sealed book and was only for the saints (*Heilig-recommandirte*)—hence his 1,500 hymns and other literature. This affected me so much that I made a loud exclamation and Br. Sp. (Brother Spangenberg) did the same which stirred up considerable uproar. George Weiss wrote a letter to which we replied again." This stormy meeting meant much. An extensive corre-



spondence followed. It was more than a mere clashing between Weiss and Spangenberg. It was rather a clashing between two great systems of thought—Weiss defending Casper Schwenkfeld and Spangenberg representing Zinzendorf, a professed adherent of the Lutheran faith, although the great defender of the Moravians. The following April Wiegner wrote: "George Weiss rejects us," and Spangenberg wrote: "The Schwenkfelders form themselves wholly into a sect and completely close themselves against all others who do not approve of their cause, whereby consciences are bound and the spirit of Christ is quenched. I can reject no brother nor separate myself from him to win others and be a means of salvation to them. The Lord will show what the outcome will be. We do not say much, but have expressed ourselves both orally and in writing." Reichel says: "In 1738, when visiting the Schwenkfelders for the third time, he (*Spangenberg*) complained of their exclusive sectarian spirit, by which the consciences are burdened; but it is still more likely that Spangenberg, 'still too learned to be an apostle' (as Zinzendorf expressed it) and lacking experience, did not always meet them, and especially their minister, George Weiss, with that Christian candor and liberality which alone awakens confidence, and which in later years was the brightest ornament of Bro. Spangenberg's career." In Fresenius we find these words: "At first for a considerable time Spangenberg attended their meetings, adopted their mode of dress, associated much with them, and they permitted this for a time, although they knew his principles while yet in the old country, but they were disinclined to enter into a more intimate familiarity with and submission to him, until at last George Weiss, their preacher, who was not at all inclined to adopt the Herrnhuter form, and espe

cially not their outward ceremonies and manner of teaching, forbade his further teaching or acting in their meetings."

George Neisser, who lived with Wiegner for a while, says: "Through condescendence towards the Schwenkfelders the whole company (Wiegner, Spangenberg and the others at Wiegner's house) attended their services and in clothing and other matters adapted themselves to them. But when it was perceived that this condescension and other inducements to love as well as the efforts to win them would bear no fruit, a gradual withdrawal took place." Sunday services were then instituted at Wiegner's, to which particularly on festival occasions and in summer time there came among others: From Skippack: Heinrich Frey, Johannes Kookem, George Merkel, Christian Weber, Jost Schmidt, Wilhelm Bossens, Jost Becker; from Friedrichstown (Frederick Township): Heinrich Antes, Wilhelm Frey, George Stiefel, Heinrich Holstein, Andreas Frey; from Matetsche (Methacton): Matthias Gmelen, Abraham Wagner; from Oley: John Bertolet, Franz Ritter and Wilhelm Pott; from Germantown: Johannes Bechtel, Johann Adam Gruber, Blasius Mackinet and George Benzel. Monthly conferences were also held, which continued until 1740. It was probably in this connection that the name "The Associated Brethren of the Skippack" arose.

On the fifteenth of March, 1739, Wiegner wrote that Spangenberg had received a call to Germany and that they were thus placed in great straits (*Wir stehen sehr in der enge*). The following August, Spangenberg according to Reichel left for Europe without having had the pleasure of seeing much fruit for his labors. It used to be said that he came to Pennsylvania a very wise man, but

had returned a much wiser man. Before his return he wrote: "My plan is to declare freely to all that in Christ Jesus naught but a new creature avails, such a one we will consider a brother; others are but men of the world and cannot stand before God. We will not concern ourselves whether a man has a particular name but whether he believes on the Lord Jesus Christ and walks in the law of love." These words can easily be duplicated from the writings of Casper Schwenkfeld. The words do honor to any follower of the Lord. One might almost be tempted to ask, Did a Schwenkfelder utter these words? In fact we find that Zinzendorf told Eckstein that Spangenberg was a Schwenkfelder. What he meant by such a statement is not made clear. Isaac Schultz wrote in 1839 that Spangenberg loved and read Schwenkfeld's writings, and that he would have remained with his friends if he had not been called away. Verification of this statement has not been possible from other sources. What would have been the result if he had not been called away? What would have been the outcome if George Weiss had been a mercenary, and sought to draw the Associated Brethren of the Skipack into the Schwenkfelder fold?

April 25, 1740, the remnant of the Moravian colony in Georgia came to Philadelphia on board of the sloop *Savanna* with Whitefield, the well-known leader of the Methodists. Reichel says: "They were greatly disappointed at not finding either Spangenberg, who had left for Europe or Bishop Nitschman, whose early arrival was expected. They went to Wiegner's, next to Henry Antes and then back again to Germantown." Meanwhile Mr. Whitefield had bought 5,000 acres of land in Northampton County for the purpose of erecting a school for negroes. On May 5, he came to Wiegner's plantation in Skipack

to see Peter Böhler concerning the intended building. Many people assembled to see and hear the famous Mr. Whitefield, who preached to them in English followed by Peter Böhler in a German address. In Whitefield's journal are found these words: "Preached at Skippack sixteen miles from Montgomery where the Dutch people live. It was seemingly a very wilderness part of the country; but there were not less I believe than 2,000 hearers." Wiegner's diary closes with April, 1739, so that it furnishes no information concerning this or subsequent visits or affairs. From other sources we learn, however, that Eschenbach, Rauch, Anne Nitschmann, Molter, Zeisberger and other Moravians enjoyed the hospitality of the home of Christopher Wiegner, his sister and mother.

Zinzendorf's missionary zeal is appropriately expressed in his own words of August, 1741: "I am destined by the Lord to proclaim the message of the death and blood of Jesus." He longed to preach Christ crucified and to build up a true church unto the Lord. Reichel says: "Zinzendorf was of the opinion that the best field for unrestrained general activity for the Kingdom of God would be in Pennsylvania; for in a country and among a people where there were as yet no ecclesiastical organizations whatever there could not be hindrances such as he met elsewhere — hindrances founded upon and emanating from ecclesiastical usages and customs of old standing. Therefore if anywhere on earth his ideal of 'a church of God in the Spirit' could be realized, Pennsylvania, he thought, might be that country." With this in mind he came to Pennsylvania in December, 1741, to labor among the diverse churches and sects scattered throughout Pennsylvania. Within ten days after his arrival he called on Wiegner and preached a sermon on John III. 16 and

Matt. XVI. 19 which seems to have given scant satisfaction. Wiegner's "Associated Brethren of the Skippack" probably formed a factor in the count's decision to come to Pennsylvania. Hence it was but the natural thing to make such a prompt call at Wiegner's home. A few days later, December 15, O. S., a call was issued signed by Henry Antes one of the frequenters at the meetings at Wiegner's for a general meeting at Germantown of members of all denominations "not for the purpose of disputing but in order to treat peaceably concerning the most important articles of faith and to ascertain how far they might all agree in the most essential points for the purpose of promoting mutual love and forbearance."

In pursuance of the call a synod was therefore held in Germantown on New Year's day, O. S. Christopher Wiegner, according to some reports, seems to have been one of the important members of the gathering. Christopher Saur said concerning this synod: "The Schwenkfelders knew him (Zinzendorf) and had lived with him. Of these none came. Two who lived in Germantown were prevailed upon to attend, but when they saw that they were only wanted in order that it might be heralded abroad that they too had attended they went home." It seems that Saur did not class Wiegner as a Schwenkfelder or did not know of his attendance. The scant attention given the gathering by the Schwenkfelders, the displeasure aroused by their not migrating to Georgia originally, the non-responsiveness to the labors of Bönisch and Spangenberg, the sly sycophancy of others, probably put Zinzendorf into a frame of mind that on slight provocation might lead him to imprudent acts and this indeed happened all too soon.

On Epiphany, January 6, Zinzendorf preached the second time at Wiegner's and was listened to by the

Schwenkfelders who rejoiced to see their former guardian angel and benefactor. It seems that on the same day eight of them called upon him at his house in Germantown. Both here and at Wiegner's controversy arose. What took place was written out by the Schwenkfelders and later published. Zinzendorf questioned them concerning their confession of faith, their organization, their hymns and other points. He said Schwenkfeld taught error, rejected word and outward things or services, that George Weiss led the people around by the nose and taught errors, that it was easier to preach to Satan than to them, that he had power over them and was bound to save their souls, that he would not rest until he had destroyed them and torn their children from them, that he would use all his powers to tear souls from them and to save the children from hell. They politely answered his questions, saying among other things: "After many attacks upon us and our truth we left Germany and should it be that here also we could not remain in peace, there would no doubt be found again some other little spot for us. We do not intend to depart from our confession." To say the least, Zinzendorf did not show the wisdom of a serpent nor the harmlessness of a dove in thus attacking a body of people so well spoken of as the Schwenkfelders. A few days later he and Bishop Nitschman called upon John Eckstein, who had accompanied Spangenberg to Georgia. Here the Schwenkfelders were again discussed, Zinzendorf reiterating what he had said before to the Schwenkfelders while Eckstein defended them, upon which the count became quite wrathful, saying that he had power over them and that he would pray the Lord to cast them out of his mouth.

Some time after this Zinzendorf actually consulted a magistrate concerning his imagined power over them and

was told that if he had paid no ship-passage for them, he could have no power over them. What the outcome would have been had the passage been paid by the count, no one can tell. Would they have been sold as redemptioners? Would they have gone to Georgia instead of Pennsylvania, there to perish as did some of the Moravians? Zinzendorf's course of conduct was adapted to cause perplexity leading to conference and consultation. He was continually making threats, seeking, as it appeared to the Schwenkfelders, to tempt them to commit some outward act against him but they, as was their custom, were seeking as much as lay in their power to live at peace with all men and particularly with him.

The second synod met January 14 and 15 at the house of George Hübner in Falckner Swamp. George was a son of Doctor Melchior Hübner who had migrated with the Schwenkfelders but who was not in harmony with the leaders and was not considered as one of the Schwenkfelders at the time of his death in 1738. The son was undoubtedly influenced by the father and thus was probably not a strict Schwenkfelder. He as a miller was a business partner of Henry Antes and also a considerable landholder. Wiegner attended the synod and was granted the freedom of the synods, being one of the members at liberty to attend without further notice. The Schwenkfelders did not send delegates to this nor to any subsequent synod. The tumult incited by Zinzendorf on Epiphany must have been noised about and must have aroused attention even among the members of the synod and was in itself ample excuse for non-attendance.

At the third conference held in Oley, February 10-12, the proposition was made that if the Schwenkfelders had any complaints against Brother Ludwig (Zinzendorf) they should present themselves at the next synod.

The fourth synod met in Germantown, March 10-12. A letter written by Casper Kriebel dated, "Domentz, March 7, 1742," replying to one by Christopher Schultz, raising the question of making a defense against Zinzendorf, contained the words: "It is the opinion of myself and some others that it is not advisable to attend said conference. Hitherto we have had nothing to do with him. He indeed makes pretensions against us, but these are European and not American." According to Reichel, "when Zinzendorf entered and found that only those had made their appearance who were really one in spirit — the Mennonites and Schwenkfelders having sent no deputies — he felt that the proper objects of these meetings would not be gained and proposed to dissolve the meeting at once, but this proposition was overruled by the synod."

The day previous to the opening of the synod, Wiegner and Zinzendorf discussed the Schwenkfelders and Wiegner told the count that in certain respects he had labored under misapprehensions. The result was a letter by Zinzendorf dated "Germantown, March 20, 1742," (N. S.) He recounted the experiences at the previous Epiphany, tried to justify his own conduct, saying among other things: "I declared to your attending deputies \* \* \* how I thought to proceed. \* \* \* I would fix a time of three months for your false teachers, unconverted overseers and blind leaders; if during that time some one who knows the cross of Jesus would take you in charge, convert some of you, introduce the holy sacraments and thus make you capable of the name of a church, then I would have to let you stand in the Lord, for you would then be an ordinary religion. But in case the heretofore and still existing confusion should continue and according to your own confession to me no one became converted, false doctrine should



continue in vogue, the sacraments remain absolutely abolished and when one inquires of you for foundations, nothing be left but the bare name of the sect, the particular dress and perhaps an empty word sound about the dead letter, inner word, spirit and the like; then rather than permit you to become scattered here and there to desert and connect with other sects to become false separatists and thus to permit your entire ruin, I would concern myself earnestly about you with this purpose to make a beginning while you were here, to visit you specifically, to gather and improve you, to remove the hirelings from you in case they withstood me, to tear the sheep out of their mouths. \* \* \* I therefore wanted to remind you that the time is approaching and terminates on the sixth of April, when you are again invited to a conference."<sup>1</sup>

To this letter Balzer Hoffman and other sundry friends politely replied that they would not attend the conference or synod, that they commended themselves to God and that they conceded to all the privilege of acting as seemed best to them. Zinzendorf replied again as follows: "While I hereby charge you publicly before the all-seeing eyes of God the Saviour as well as before every honorable man that you have committed the spiritual and temporal care of your people to me in writing in case you should dwell outside of my territory and particularly outside of Europe and indeed partly in naming Pennsylvania. But I do not wish to lay the writing before you, because you treat me with sophistical artifices and I (the appointee of Jesus as Reformer of the Schwenkfelder religion) being obliged to proceed apostolically desire that you give me the following

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<sup>1</sup> "It was an empty threat that these people should fear and at once prostrate themselves, for they did not come and paid no attention to his dictatorial counsels, but remained quietly away from him and since that time he could not undertake anything further against them."

written obligation under your name that until after your death you will take the charge upon yourselves; in that event this paper will serve you as a strong obligation on my part that I will defer my services as reformer of the Schwenkfelder religion until your death, unless it should happen that some souls among you would request me to perform such service whom I would at all times accept as my children," etc.

The following is the form of release proposed: "We, the undersigned, release Count Louis von Zinzendorf in the sincerest and most effective manner before God and man of and from all temporal and spiritual care of the Schwenkfelders in America during the term of our lives." The following rejoinder was then given by the Schwenkfelders: "Out of veneration for your person we have in sincerity replied to all demands heretofore made upon us but finding that our simple yet truthful declarations are construed as sophistry, we are compelled hereafter absolutely to decline to take notice of any and every importunity that may be made, both written and oral, until we are shown that written power of our submission which we are said to have executed. It is not the accusation but the evidence that proves the case. We do not believe in that entrusted instruction from Christ against our religion. We decline the demand, we have neither the bestowed nor assumed power or arbitrariness to treat with our people in the manner indicated; it would appear neither formal nor proper, but rather it would appear foolish. By the help of God we shall remain with ours, thank Him for our liberty, place our trust in His provident care and commit ourselves with all that may impend to Him. For what length of time that entrusted reformation is to be suspended does not give us any concern. With this simple declaration we

merely make known that we can not assume, much less assent to what we are charged with. We can not imagine why such a binding obligation has not been shown ere this: as we frankly made known our intentions and commenced our journey publicly."

At the seventh synod the views of the members were expressed concerning the religious state of nine denominations in Pennsylvania. Of the Schwenkfelders the conclusion was in part as follows: "The Schwenkfelders so-called are in a lamentable condition. They have no system of their own. In Germany they allow their children to be baptized; here they do not. Those who offered to aid them they have rejected. Brother Thurnstein (Zinzendorf) brought with him and beside received here such views of them as misled him into a severity which they indeed deserved, but which their accusers deserved much more. \* \* \* He also sought a release from them showing that they would decline his duty towards them during their lives; this they returned unsigned. He has at this time a definite assurance from a sufficient number of them that they neither need him nor expect to unite with him."

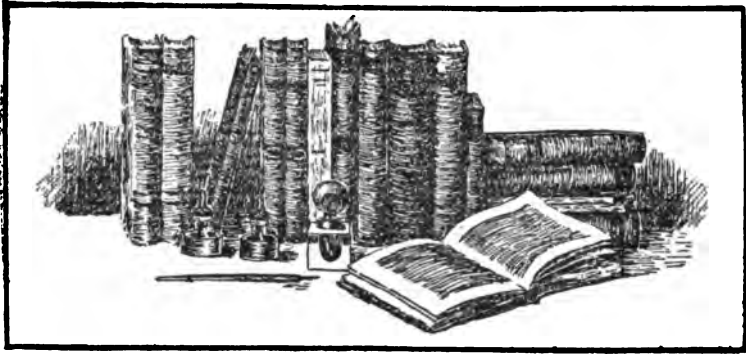
The seventh was the last of the synods in which Zinzendorf participated and also marks the time when first the Schwenkfelders could feel themselves entirely free from the power of Zinzendorf. For sixteen years had they in an unorganized condition withstood his efforts at "conversion" and successfully stood by the faith of the fathers placed in their hands as a sacred trust according to their view. A heart of charity will not impugn the motives or his love, but perchance may see in him one of God's lambs wrapped in wolf's clothing, and actuated by a feudalistic spirit entirely foreign to the genius of the church and state in Pennsylvania.

To a Schwenkfelder who fully appreciated his own system of doctrine, it would have seemed preposterous to adopt as his spiritual guide and teacher, Zinzendorf who, as report has it, taught that there were but two churches, the Roman Catholic and the Moravian, the former even having lost its power, that the children of Moravian parents did not need regeneration, that baptism of water was regeneration, that claimed to be the "appointee of Jesus as Reformer of the Schwenkfelder religion."

To guard against unwarranted inferences it will be in place to say in conclusion that the most cordial relation has always existed between Schwenkfelders and Moravians and that it is to be hoped that the same may continue in years to come.



WHEEL, FOR SPINNING OR TWISTING WOOL.



## CHAPTER IX.

### SECULAR EDUCATION AMONG THE SCHWENKFELDERS.



**KNOWLEDGE** is power and its acquisition a Christian duty. In studying the history of secular education among the Schwenkfelders as a body, one finds comparatively little material relating to the first thirty years after the immigration. It is evident that the immigrant Schwenkfelders were not of a low type of intelligence. Very few of them made their "mark" at the time of their taking the pledge of allegiance. Their religious leaders, Weiss, Hoffman and Schultz, probably aided the respective communities in winning the elements of a practical education in the common branches. Christopher Schultz in his *Historische Anmerkungen* says that about the year 1764 there was considerable deliberation with respect to the establishment of a school system for and by the Schwenkfelders. The necessity for such schools was laid before the heads of families in a series of questions. A meeting was thereupon held on the first of March, 1764, and money pledged

for the support of the schools. In June another meeting was held when articles of agreement were adopted and the system was inaugurated.

In the deliberations of June, the following principles were agreed to, written out quite fully and illustrated by references to a number of authorities :

1. Man by nature is lost, but is intended by God to be eternally happy.

2. It is the duty of parents to bring up their children in the fear of God and in useful knowledge.

3. A system of public schools is necessary to lighten, but it can not remove, the duty of parents in this respect.

4. It is the object of schools to lead children into the wisdom of God and the possession of useful knowledge.

5. Specifically it is their object to educate in godliness, learning and virtue.

6. This principle concerning the object of schools is founded on God.

7. The essential conditions of good schools are competent teachers, order and regulations, a true fear of God, impartation of useful knowledge, care of teachers.

8. A teacher ought to be godly, educated and of good repute.

9. A faithful teacher must seek the true welfare of his pupils.

10. It is necessary for parents and teachers to agree as to methods to bring about the best results.

11. The moral training of children must not be overlooked.

12. The reading of God's Word and the study of the catechism should not be omitted from schools.

13. Reading and writing the English and German languages, arithmetic and geography and other useful branches should be studied.

# Journal

aller und jeder

Einrichtungen, particularirr. Anordnungen  
und Fortschritten, so in Darsen, gebirn,  
gor Einkhaltung und  
Verwaltung

Derer

Schul. Anstalten  
by den so genannten Schwertföndern  
so weit für ihre, als für  
angemerkten  
nötzig und erforderlich sind:

Alles dars:   
Alles dars, daß dars veranstalteten  
Funds

jämt der Rechnung, aller Einnahmen,  
und Ausgaben  
welcher gestalten Deltige, desselben Plan gemäß,  
von Zeit zu Zeit anfallen,

Deltige gestalten registriert, zur Vorsehung  
und Einweisung, solcham gültig und richtigem  
nung und Ausführung, aller nachstehend. grund  
und nachstehend Einrichtungen und Regulationen  
wie Deltige im Schul. Wesen bewilligt; nach Abfert  
der Subskribenten und Unterstützer geachteten Funds.

Angefangen und Eingerichtet  
im Jahr

M D C C L X I V.

TITLE PAGE "GOSHENHOPPEN SCHUL BUCH" OR MINUTE BOOK OF  
SCHOOL-SYSTEM.

14. Provision should be made for the support of the teacher.

At the time of the adoption of the afore-mentioned principles, the following regulations were also adopted :

Certain Agreements and Fundamental Articles for the establishment, support and continuation of a school-system in the districts of Skippack and Goshenhoppen as they were agreed upon and determined by and between the contributors thereto this thirteenth day of June, 1764.

WHEREAS, the faithful training of the young in reading, writing and the study of the languages and useful sciences, according to sex, age and standing and their instruction in the principles of morality, virtue and true religion contribute very much to the prosperity and welfare of every community, which can be accomplished in no way better than by the establishment of schools under wise and proper regulations adapted to such undertaking and,

WHEREAS, the small community of people, known by the name "Schwenkfelders" has hitherto been under great inconvenience for the education of their children in the useful elements referred to above through want of well-regulated schools ;

Therefore, they took the matter to heart and met on the first day of March, 1764, in Skippack and earnestly deliberated how and in what form schools might be established among them whereupon they concluded that it would be most convenient to collect and establish a fund from the proceeds of which the most, even if not all the expenses for the support of such schools could be met, annually their deliberations agreeing on the following conditions and terms. The above-named took into consideration their insignificant numbers and means in comparison with the heavy expenses that would be incurred by such schools



and concluded that in view of these circumstances, it would be advantageous to the encouragement of subscriptions and the collection of a larger amount to regard the sums brought together thus as a loan conditioned as follows: The said contributors and subscribers give their respective contributions to the fund as a loan for a period of sixteen years reckoned from the sixteenth day of May, 1764. Such sum shall be under the management of certain trustees in order that the interest thereof at 5 per cent. per annum may be applied to the support of the said schools in the hope and trust in divine direction that meanwhile such necessary and important undertaking may gradually be further encouraged by those favorably inclined and supported in true Christian spirit by gifts and loans so that it may be continually strengthened. It is their purpose not only to support the said fund according to their ability but also to commend the same to their friends as best they may from time to time. For it is their aim, agreement and intention that as long as there are children to be educated and as long as the fund can be administered under the manifest favor of God, the said fund shall be continued and the whole undertaking shall be conducted by God's blessing unalterably according to the following regulations.

Wherefore let all whom it may concern know that we the above-mentioned contributors earnestly desire that this undertaking may not be hindered or rendered ineffectual and that it may be conducted according to principles of prudence and discretion. Hence we have agreed upon the following fundamental articles, regulations and rules to provide a prudent management of the fund and good government of the schools before mentioned. Our true idea and plainly evident wish is not to be changed or perverted

respecting this but is to continue the same and remain in full power forever.

1. Since the originators and contributors to the said fund are of the people called Schwenkfelders, they regard the undertaking as theirs and desire that the trustees elected for the control of the fund and supervision of the schools may at all times be prudent and reputable men of the said community. But the idea and intention is that the said school system shall be open to the children of the parents of any denomination, whoever they may be, under this condition that they pay for the instruction of their children, and that they and their children shall regulate and conduct themselves according to the necessary regulations hereby presented, as well as those that may be made hereafter by the trustees hereinafter mentioned. Whereby, however, the impartial instruction according to the religion of each as much as relates to the schools shall not be hindered.

2. On the second Monday in the month of March of each year forever between the hours of 10 and 2 of the said day the contributors to such school system (but they must be such of whatever religious society as have already subscribed or hereafter contribute, either to lend for a time £20 or more or to donate £2 in Pennsylvania currency or more to be expended for said school system) shall have the right to assemble at one of the school houses designated by the trustees, and then and there they or the majority of those that have met shall vote by ballot for trustees of the said school system for the succeeding year. The number of trustees shall be five, or as many as the contributors may agree upon, and these shall be reputable persons of the community.

3. The said trustees or the majority of them shall have power and authority to make, order and establish good and

necessary rules and regulations for the good government of said schools, the officers of the schools and the scholars who shall be amenable to the trustees collectively and individually, yet with the condition that such rules and regulations be in harmony with sound reason and the general regulations of this general plan.

4. The said trustees or the majority of them shall have full power and authority to examine and adjust all important differences that may arise between the teachers and pupils, or their masters, parents or those who may be in authority over them, and the complaints of such as may feel wronged, either teachers or pupils, or any of them; yet with this condition that by this article or whatever is included in it, it is not intended that those in authority — the teachers — shall be restrained from administering such reasonable and moderate chastisement as they may deem necessary.

5. The said trustees or the majority of them shall from time to time elect and make agreement with school teachers and for just cause dismiss and discharge the same; also dismiss and discharge unruly scholars and such as will not conduct themselves in accord with the afore-mentioned rules and regulations, as well as those who in unjust matters are not properly admonished by parent, guardian, master or mistress. In their election of school officers or school-masters due care must be taken that persons of education, wisdom, and unaffected piety and virtue are preferred and that such are avoided as are known to be selfish, quarrelsome and without affection. As far as possible they shall adapt themselves to the instructions of the contributors as agreed upon in June, 1764.

6. The said trustees or the majority of them shall have full power and authority to have in their care, protection

and management the aforesaid fund and all money belonging to the same. They shall keep an accurate account of the same and of their financial transactions, giving income and expenses, loans and all the circumstances relating to the same. The obligation and security which they give as trustees shall be ample and binding both as to themselves and their successors in office.

7. The said trustees or the majority of them shall faithfully use or invest all such money or income of such money as many be contributed to said school system by will, present or loan at all times as they may deem best for the true welfare of the same in accordance with the herein-mentioned regulations, unless those that bequeath, present or loan the money give order how the money shall be used, which orders shall always be minutely followed in so far as they are not contrary to the herein-embraced regulations.

8. The said schools shall be visited once in each month by at least two of said trustees in order that both teacher and pupil may do their duty. The trustees or the majority of them shall meet whenever the said visiting trustees find occasion to call them together and then to order and regulate the affairs for which they are appointed and for which the said visiting trustees may have called them. They shall keep a book at the expense of the community in which to note and record all such matters as they may have agreed upon with respect to the schools at their meetings as well as accounts of all money which they receive, expend or pay out from time to time. The said book shall be laid before the annual meeting of the contributors for inspection.

9. In case, however, it should be discovered, seen and recognized by the contributors, contrary to all expectation, that the work thus instituted, the said school system, is

more harmful than beneficial to the worthy cause hereby indicated, it is herewith agreed and resolved that in such event the whole matter shall be brought to an end and restitution shall be made to each contributor or his heirs of the money donated and of the obligations and securities except what may have been expended.

10. It is further the sense and idea that the contributors or a majority of them assembled at any general meeting shall have the right to make such further regulations and to do and provide all such things as from time to time may be found serviceable to the well-being and convenience of the said undertaking — the school-system.

In witness hereof there follow herewith the names of the founders, subscribers and supporters of the said school-system together with the amount of money subscribed by each.

Christoph Schultz	£50 a loan	Casper Kribel	£50 a loan
George Schultz	30 "	George Kribel Jun.	30 "
George Schultz, Jun.	50 "	Abraham Kribel	30 "
Melchior Schultz	50 "	George Anders Sen.	5 "
Barbara Yeakel	40 "	George Anders Jun.	20 "
Andreas Warmer	20 "	Melcher Kriebel	20 "
David Schultz	10 "	Casper Seibt	30 "
Christoph Krause	40 "	Christoph Neumann	20 "
Christoph Yeakel	50 "	David Neuman	25 "
Balthasar Yeakel	10 "	Heinrich Schneider	20 "
Johannes Yeakel	50 "	Abraham Yeakel	20 "
George Heydrich	6 a donation	Gregorius Schultz	20 "
George Kriebel	30 a loan	Rosina Wiegner	30 Nov. 27, 1766
Christoph Kribel	30 "	Andreas Haag	4 a donation
Christoph Hoffman	20 "		
Hansz Chr. Huebner	30 "		
		Summa	£840.0.0.

The showing made by the subscription list is quite creditable, although about twenty-five families were not represented. Of these, some had moved away, some had no means, a few may not have been entirely in sympathy

with the movement and some did not join in any work of the Schwenkfelders, not being looked upon as being of the Schwenkfelders. The 840 pounds originally subscribed was reduced to less than 800 by the withdrawal of a few subscriptions.

In this effort they had the example of practically all the churches around them: Mennonite, Reformed, Lutheran, Quaker, Moravian, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Catholic — schools being conducted by all of these denominations. It is not unlikely that they received suggestions and inspiration from the establishment of the Germantown Academy, 1761. Unlike these churches, however, they could not look to the fatherland for aid, for there they had none to aid them. They could not look to the provincial government for it aided none educationally. They had the example of the religious and secular community to use the lottery for raising money, for they had seen churches, parsonages, school-houses, paved streets and general public improvements made by raising money through such means. They chose the cheapest and best way of giving — by giving. Space forbids any detailed references to the prominent and commendable features of the plan which will become evident to the attentive reader on its perusal.

The first election of officers took place August 10, 1764, when the following trustees were chosen: Melchior Schultz, Christopher Schultz, Christopher Yeakel, George Kriebel and Casper Kriebel. The first teachers were John Davis and John Doerbaum. The former conducted a school for six months in the home of Christopher Schultz at a salary of £20 (\$53.33) and board for the term; the latter, for the same time in the house of George Anders for £10 (\$26.66) and board, light and fuel. Melchior Wiegner and Melchior Schultz jointly conveyed to the

trustees, September 24, 1764, two acres and fifty perches of meadow land for the benefit and use of the schools and the school teacher. The trustees made improvements on the land the following spring. The land reverted to the original owners seemingly by provision of the deed of conveyance.

The first school-house was built in 1765, in Towamencin, close to where the Schwenkfelder meeting house now stands, and a dwelling house for the teacher was erected a little later. Verbal promises were made at the time which, when it was proposed to put them into writing, led to misunderstandings followed by recriminations affecting even the attendance at the meetings for worship on Sunday. The following spring (1766), at a business meeting, several of the subscribers said they were a thousand times sorry that they had joined in the movement to establish the schools. The dissatisfaction had not even died out in 1771 when a censorious paper was sent to the trustees of the Goshenhoppen district.

One of the early teachers gave considerable trouble to the trustees on account of his doctrinal standpoint. He was a great friend of the writings of Dippel and Edelman, and went so far as to quote objectionable passages from their writings in setting the copy-books of the pupils. It is needless to say that he was not reëngaged; nothing different could have been expected from a people who jealously guarded their children with respect to purity of Christian doctrine. Christopher Schultz was a great friend of a generous education, and, while schools were thus being conducted by the trustees, received into his family a number of Quaker boys for a time to teach them the elements of German. His own children were doubtless also pleased thus to have the chance to learn a little English.

For their benefit Schultz translated into English a short essay by Schwenkfeld on the Christian life.

On account of the small number of contributors it was agreed, 1770, that the sons of contributors to the original fund should have the right to vote if they were twenty-one years of age and should be eligible to office if they were married. Prior to 1790 the schools of the Upper or Goshenhoppen district were conducted in the private houses of Christopher Schultz, Balzer Schultz, Christopher Krauss and George Yeakel. In 1790 a combined school and meeting-house was built in Hosensack, and the following year one was built in Washington, then a part of Hereford Township, below the present Clayton. The length of school term averaged about four months per year. Prior to 1781 the teachers were not of the Schwenkfelder faith, but misunderstandings and the selfishness of some of these hirelings led the trustees to seek to employ teachers chosen from among their own people. George Kriebel and Christopher Hoffman, the ministers, both taught for a number of years, each being past fifty when he began to teach. With varied other duties pressing upon them, they thought it not beneath their dignity to enter the school-room and teach the young of their flock.



The school fund did not escape the financial misfortunes of the Revolution. In an address issued 1791, the trustees stated that by the interest of the fund of 1764 and by free contributions they supported a good school until the debtors to their fund began to pay their interest and at last the principal in depreciated currency. The debtors had received the hard-earned money of the Schwenkfelders and found it convenient and by enactment of law, legal—though not right—to repay in depreciated paper currency. This depreciation of the fund was an unfortunate, though



perhaps unavoidable accompaniment of the struggle for independence. Through this shrinkage the capital stock £800 contracted to less than £100 in 1793, which was offered to the original subscribers or their heirs. Of this sum less than £12 was accepted, the rest being donated to the fund.

In 1780 the period for which the fund was originally collected expired. A general meeting of the supporters was held, at which it was agreed for the next three years to leave intact the capital which, through the accruing interest, was insufficient to meet the current expenses and which at the time was not readily convertible into specie. They divided themselves into four classes to be taxed pro rata under given conditions to meet the running expenses. An inspector was also elected to supervise the schools, and it was agreed that no child should be allowed to attend school that did not know the alphabet. This plan of dividing the supporters into classes and of thus paying the teachers, etc., was continued until 1823, when the original plan of the schools was superseded by other methods. The fund amounting to about £146 became the nucleus of the literary fund as it exists to-day which is considered in a different connection.

This school system reached its highest efficiency during 1790-92 under the instruction of George Carl Stock, who afterwards served as a Lutheran minister. In August, 1790, an agreement was entered into by the trustees with George Carl Stock, of Halle, as teacher in Goshenhoppen for one year at £5 (\$13.33) per month with free dwelling and fire-wood. This may seem a low salary but it must be remembered that George Kriebel, a minister, a large landholder and a man of means taught for half this salary. Stock agreed to teach English, German, Latin, Greek, etc.

<p>Joachim Langens Verbesserte und Erleichterte Lateinische <b>GRAMMATICA.</b> mit einem Paradigmatischen und Dialogischen <b>TIROCINIO.</b> Zweif und zwanzigste Edition, Nur stehend bleibenden Schriften oder von mehrerer Nützlichkeit willen <b>Die fünfte.</b></p>  <p>CVM PRIVILEGIIS Sanc. Caf. Majestatis, Regum Poloniæ ac Borussiae, nob. non H. L. auctum Savoniar et Brandenburg.</p> <p>§ 2222 In Verlegung des Wittenhaufes, 1741.</p>	<p>Ein wohl eingerichtetes deutsches <b>A B C</b> Buchstaben- und Lesebuch zum Gebrauch deutscher Schulen.</p> <p>Verfaßt von Joh. H. C. nach vielen Jahren Beschäftigung und viel- jährigen. Eine Sammlung von Deutschen recht zu lei- nen, mit einem lateinischen Unterricht vom Schreiben und Lesen.</p> <p>Gründe anzuzeigen und lehrreiche Beispiele, welche mit Zu- hilfe, und pössliche Kinder.</p> <p>Eine kurze Erklärung, was ein lateinisches Buch vor dem Buche.</p>  <p>GERMANY Verlegt von Michael Wittenhauf, 1746.</p>
<p>INAUGURAL <i>Botanico-Medical Dissertation,</i> ON THE <b>Phytolacca Decandra</b> OF <b>LINNÆUS.</b></p> <hr/> <p>By <b>BENJAMIN SHULTZ,</b> <i>of Philadelphia,</i> MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA MEDICAL SOCIETY.</p> <hr/> <p>PHILADELPHIA, PRINTED BY THOMAS DOBSON, AT THE STONE-DOOR, NO 41, SOUTH SECOND-STREET 1795.</p>	<p>S E L E C T Æ E V E T E R I TESTAMENTO HISTORIÆ. Ad usum Eorum qui Latine Lingue Re- dimenta imbuuntur.</p> <p>NOVA EDITIO.</p> <p>PRIORIBUS MULTO EMENDATIO.</p> <p>PHILADELPHIA, FUNDAMENTI PRÆCIPUI ET HALLI, Vnde vulgatus est Migne Sunt, et J. JONES, 1800. LINDA HALL M. DCC. LXXXV.</p>

SCHOOL BOOKS USED IN THE SCHWENKFELDER SCHOOLS, ALSO DR.  
BENJAMIN SCHULTZ'S THESIS ON THE POKE-WEED.

He opened the school which he was wont to call "Our Academy," September 1, 1790, where the present Schwenkfelder meeting house in Hosensack stands in the new school-house just erected and which was replaced by a new house in 1838. The school was continued without intermission seemingly for the year, when the contract was renewed for another year, but for some unexplained reason the school was closed at the end of April, 1792.

The following words are quoted from a circular letter dated, "Philadelphia County, March, 1791," and will furnish some interesting data. The trustees "have lately and at their own expense erected a new school-house and dwelling-house for its master and engaged a man of good learning and fair character to be the master of that school in which children of parents of any religious denomination, English or German, rich or poor, may be taught reading, writing, cyphering and some or other young men of genius instructed in mathematics and the learned languages and trained up to become ushers or assistants to this or any other school in this country. Catechisms and other doctrinal books of any religious school shall not be introduced in this school. Parents may form the minds of their children in their own way or may commit them to the clergy of the church or meeting to which they belong. The master of the school shall nevertheless use his utmost endeavors to impress on their tender minds the fear of God, the love of their country and of all mankind. This well-meant school is undertaken by a few persons of but moderate estates on whom the expense of supporting and improving it will fall very heavily. The trustees flatter themselves with the hope that it will meet with some encouragement from the benevolent who have the good of the growing youth of this country at heart by contributing their mite towards this purpose."

Unfortunately the school roll has not been located and may have been destroyed. From the treasurer's accounts it is evident that children of non-Schwenkfelder families attended: Isaac Schultz, John Schultz, Jacob Yeakel, Susanna Yeakel are known to have attended. John Krauss, Christopher Yeakel, David Yeakel and Andrew Yeakel, the sons of Balthasar, probably attended, although there is no positive evidence available at the time of writing.

Among the books known to have been used are the following: *Cornelii Nepotes*, *Schrevelius' Greek and Latin Lexicon*, *Sheridan's English Dictionary*, *Guthrie's Geographical and Historical Grammar*, *Gesner's Latin and German Lexicon*, *Latin Selections from the Old Testament*, also two globes, a terrestrial and a celestial, with a treatise on the same by Adams. That the students studied Latin and Greek is known from direct testimony to that effect and from the Latin letters written by them still extant. Nor were these Latin letters epistles of love full of soft sentimentalities and glittering generalities. They propounded and answered questions bearing on the Bible, its doctrines, etc. The teacher also dictated to his pupils a series of propositions bearing on revealed theology that were written out in full, among others, by Susanna Yeakel, probably the daughter of Melchior, a farmer's girl of fifteen. Of these propositions, 28 treated of the Bible in general, 34 of God, 25 of the Trinity, 9 of creation, 10 of Providence, 7 of angels.

In the afternoon of New Year's day, 1791, the teacher read a paper, practically a sermon, based on 2 Cor. VI. 2 in the school-house before his pupils, patrons and others. The original, still preserved, suggests a careful, conscientious, methodical and God-fearing man. In concluding his remarks he spoke directly to his pupils and ended as fol-

lows: "The Lord grant that through my teaching you may be trained to become useful members of human society on earth and what is most important to become members of the army of the redeemed in the unending eternity beyond. According to man's expectations and the course of nature I shall probably pass beyond the grave long years before you. What a joy it will be, my dear children, to see you before the throne of God when your brief course is run and before the seat of the Lamb that was slain, to join with you in the new song: Holy, holy, holy Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen, So let it be."

Shortly before the Hosensack Academy was finally closed in April, 1792, George Kriebel, the pastor, paid a visit to it and addressed the scholars in a quasi-Baccalaureate sermon. The line of thought is indicated by the following brief outline gathered from his own fuller notes: Worthy and beloved young people and in particular the linguists: In view of the probability that the present school may before long be brought to a close, I have concluded to present a few matters briefly to you.

1. The consciousness that the school was made a possibility and a reality through sacrifice by members of our small religious body in the hope that you might be trained to become useful in various relations should make you circumspect in your conduct lest discouragement be produced among those who aided the cause.

2. It will at all times be pleasing to God and helpful to you to say with Samuel: "Speak, Lord! thy servant heareth."

3. In choosing a profession, strive not to have days of ease, or to avoid heavy toil, or to win glory and honor; rather say with David: "Shew me thy ways, O Lord;

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



WORKING THE HOUSE IN  
FROM AN OLD PENCIL SKETCH.

the Lord grant that through my teaching you may be trained to become useful members of human society on earth and what is most important to become members of the army of the redeemed in the unending eternity beyond. According to man's expectations and the course of nature I shall probably pass beyond the grave long years before you. What a joy it will be, my dear children, to see you before the throne of God when your brief course is run and before the seat of the Lamb that was slain, to join with you in the new song: Holy, holy, holy Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen, So let it be."

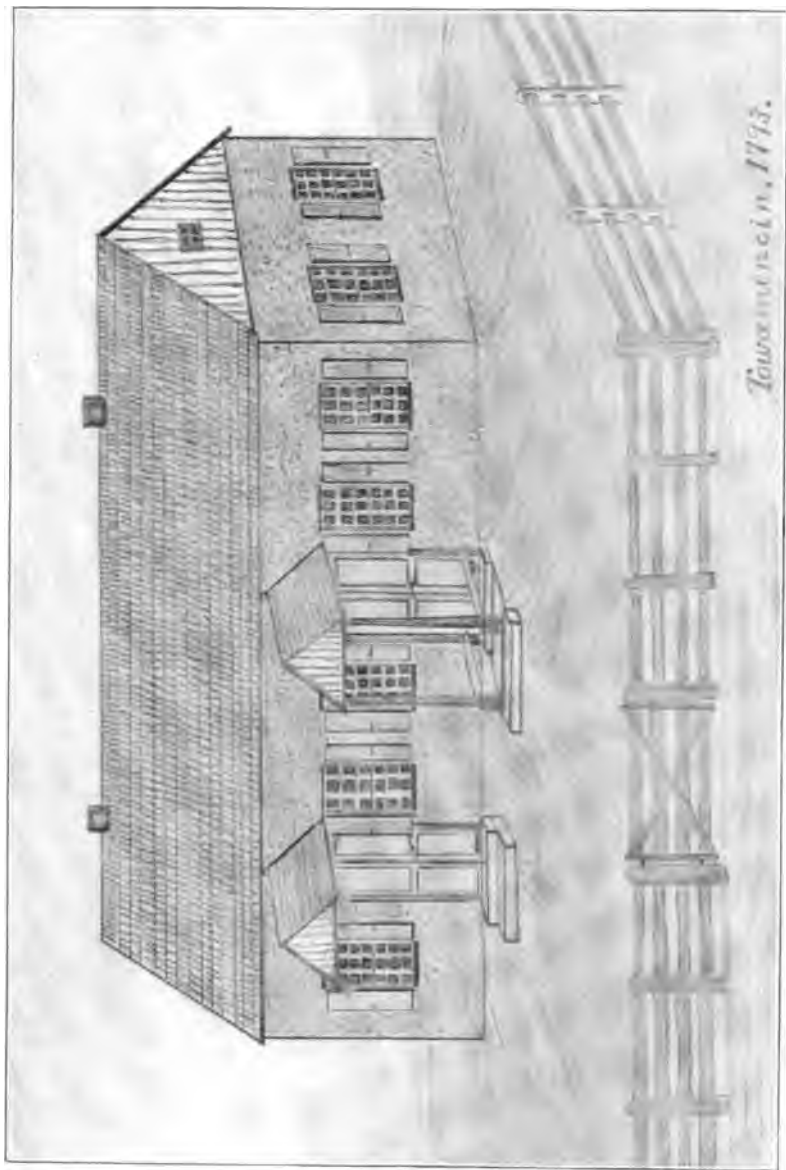
Shortly before the Hiesensack Academy was finally closed in April, 1792, George Kriebel, the pastor, paid a visit to it and addressed the scholars in a quasi-Baccalaureate sermon. The line of thought is indicated by the following brief outline gathered from his own fuller notes: "Worthy and beloved young people and in particular the humanists: In view of the probability that the present school may hereafter be brought to a close, I have concluded to present a few matters briefly to you.

1. The consciousness that the school was made a possibility and a reality through the office by members of our small religious body in the hope that you might be trained to become useful in various relations should make you circumspect in your conduct. Let discouragement be produced among those who are in the cause.

2. It will at all times be pleasing to God and helpful to you to say with Samuel: "Speak, Lord! thy servant heareth."

3. In making a profession, strive not to have days of idleness; avoid heavy toil, or to win glory and honor; follow with David: "Shew me thy ways, O Lord;

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



TOWAMENCIN MEETING HOUSE IN 1793.  
(FROM AN OLD PENCIL SKETCH.)





teach me thy paths. Lead me in thy truth and teach me; for thou art the God of my salvation; on thee do I wait all the day." Ps. XXV. 4, 5.

4. Do not allow your knowledge to make you vain-glorious or proud. Be humble and seek to be serviceable.

5. Stand by our religious society or rock from which you have sprung. Do not abuse what you have received.

6. Avoid all heathen writings and read useful and edifying books, in particular the New Testament and the writings of Casper Schwenkfeld.

When the school system of their own was abandoned by the Schwenkfelders, they joined in with their neighbors in educational efforts. Upon the adoption of the public school system some of them feared the abridgment of personal liberty and the secularization of the schools, but they became its friends and have continued its friends ever since. The whole life shows that as a body they were close friends of education at all times. Isaac Schultz doubtless gave a fair presentation of them when he wrote in 1844: "They pay great attention to education, to the religious and moral training of their children. Many of them possess a respectable knowledge of the learned languages, Latin, etc. There is scarcely a family among them that does not possess a well-selected and neatly arranged library among which you will find manuscript copies from their learned fathers." It must not be overlooked that some were opposed to schools and did not take kindly to an advanced education.

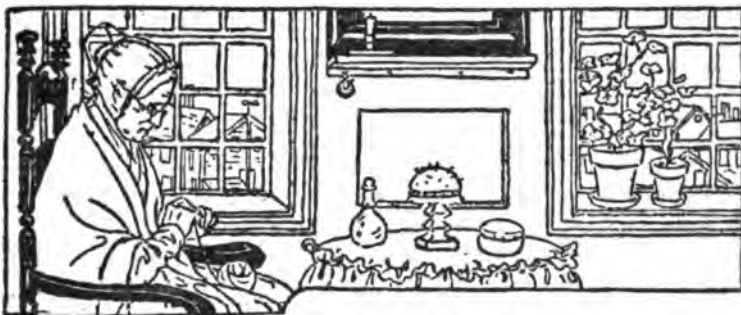
A revival of interest in education by the Schwenkfelders as a body has manifested itself in recent years. Accordingly their General Conference in October, 1891, appointed a committee of seven members to take into consideration the advisability of establishing a school for advanced or

secondary education. The outcome was that "Perkiomen Seminary" was organized and put into active operation at Pennsburg, Pa., in the fall of 1892 under the principalship of Reverend Oscar Schultz Kriebel. In its ten years' existence it has risen to the front rank among private secondary schools of the state and has amply repaid itself in the work accomplished. To quote from a recent catalogue:

"It is the aim of the school to furnish our worthy young people the very best possible educational advantages for the least possible expense. The founders of the school who gave so liberally of their thought and means are Christian men and women who believe in the necessity of a thorough and symmetrical development of all the powers of mind and body for the greatest usefulness and service in life. It is the purpose of the management to carry out the idea of the founders in such a way that the young people who attend the school may receive such thorough training, such wholesome development, and such wise and careful direction of their powers and activities as will fit them in the best possible manner for the exacting requirements of a higher course of training or the actual responsibilities of life."



A RELIC OF BY-GONE DAYS.



## CHAPTER X.

### THE SCHWENKFELDERS AS CITIZENS.



UNDER this chapter will be considered the Schwenkfelders in their relation to the government, and more particularly with respect to the question of bearing arms. In doing this it will be proper to take a preview by stating that they were professing adherents of the views of Schwenkfeld even with respect to this relation in life. They, therefore, believed in following the "Golden Rule" even in the management of the civil affairs of life. They believed that the spirit directing and moulding the conduct of men towards their fellows should be the spirit of intercession, edification, service, peace, patience, forgiveness, humility, kindness, truthfulness and justice. They believed in the right of free speech and did not hesitate to express themselves when occasion seemed to suggest a necessity. They did not regard it incompatible with the professions of a Christian to hold office,

neither did they deem it necessary for a public officer to be a professing Christian. They did not strive for public office, since they preferred the freedom of private life; neither did they in general refuse to serve when called upon. It was with them a matter of religious faith to be obedient to those in authority, and they always did obey when matters of conscience did not enter into the question. They were opposed to war and oaths and dared to stand true to their convictions, even though the community and the State were set against them and made them suffer for their fidelity to their consciences. A study of the details of their history will substantiate these statements, but as space will permit no more, a few illustrative instances only can be referred to.

Their pledge of allegiance, noticed in a different connection, was honestly made and honestly kept. In pursuance of an "act for naturalizing such foreign Protestants as are settled or shall be settled in any of the colonies," a company of Schwenkfelders took and subscribed the qualifications for them appointed by said act before John Kinsey, Thomas Graeme and William Till, judges of the said court in April, 1743. The records show that later others took the same obligations.

The Indians were a cause of great concern to the early settlers. On this score the families among the Schwenkfelders that had moved to Macungie probably endured most hardships. Isaac Schultz says of these: "Three enterprising families, Gregorius Schultz and his two brothers-in-law, John and Balzer Yeakel, ventured in their march to cross the mountains into the so-called '*Macungier Wüstenei*,' where a few Indians and other people led a miserable existence and at times subjected them to harsh treatment. They had to endure more hardships than their

friends in Goshenhoppen and the Lower District. They were occasionally put in terror by the Indians, but they found it easier to live in peace and harmony with the Indians than with their persecutors in the Old World, who had the Bible in the one hand and the sword in the other hand." In anticipation of an Indian outbreak they sold their homes and moved into the Goshenhoppen valley.

During the French and Indian War the location of the Schwenkfelders was such that they escaped the terrors of the frontier but not the burden of making defense against the Indians. Christopher Schultz wrote of this period: "In the year 1755, many war rumors arose in this and other provinces, and towards the end of the year unfriendly Indians made frequent attacks, people were killed and houses were laid desolate. It became necessary to place a heavy guard along the exposed frontier, and residents were at times called upon to come to the rescue in resisting the enemy. Our people willingly helped to bear their respective shares of the burdens that fell to the various townships without personally taking up arms against the enemy, a substitute being placed by them as their term of service came." They were subjected to some terrors, although they did not endure any special hardships.

The feeling through the Goshenhoppen valley during the summer of 1755 is shown by the following incidents. Some one made the remark that many Indians were at the house of Reverend Schneider of the Catholic mission. Philadelphia soon became alarmed at the report that there were forty Indians at one place and thirty at another. The governor sent a committee to investigate, who reported that there were Indian beggars — six warriors with wives and children, at the house of the Reverend Schneider. In the latter part of October a rumor came to Goshen-

Eine  
**B U S S K R I Z**  
 an das  
 Volk von Neu-England.

W

vorstellende  
 Die sehr große Wichtigkeit der Indianer ihrem Interesse zu  
 erwünschen, muß allem damit, daß man sie gerott und  
 freundlich behandle, sondern auch daß man gesungen fließ  
 ihre, das Christenthum unter ihnen zu pflanzen.

Durch Samuel Hopkins, A. M. Pfarrer zur Kirche in Springfield.

Es bezeugt daß Gott sein Ansehen der Person ist. Unden  
 in jedem Volk vor sie erscheint, und gesegnet wird, ist ihm angethan  
 Apostel Petrus

Betrachtet im October 1753 ist ein Brief an die von folgenden Bedenken:  
 Auch ansehn die Konfessionen Indianer, nach einer Reise  
 der Mission, welche der vordere vord. J. John Sergeant,  
 zu Fortpflanzung des Evangelii unter den besagten Indianern ge-  
 braucht hat

Man annehmen mündlich die vorstehende Betrachting der Missionen  
 von Pennsylvania, und den andern Colonien

Philadelphia gedruckt bei B. Franklin und D. Hall 1757.

Und den Engländern also in die hoch. Feuchte Sprache übersezt

SCHULTZ' TRANSLATION OF HOPKINS' ADDRESS ON THE INDIANS.

hoppen and Falckner Swamp that 1,300 French and Indians had crossed the Susquehanna at Harris' ferry and were coming east. During the night while a heavy rain was falling, the report was spread with such success that the next morning a large body of men was ready to go at once and "devour the invaders like bread" as the newspaper of the times states it. To their mingled joy, sorrow and disgust these brave men found out that they had been misled by an unfounded rumor. They came home, wetter, sadder, madder men. By their shooting and shouting they alarmed the uninformed to such an extent that they began to flee hither and thither, passing and repassing like bees from an upset hive until they too learned that Dame Fame had told a tale. It was probably of this period that Isaac Schultz wrote: "Alarm came at one time with such force across the hills into the lower valleys of Hereford that the residents suddenly began to prepare for flight. They gathered their valuables; the kneading-troughs with dough and flour in them were snatched from the wondering bakers and with the valuables placed hurriedly on the wagons; the fires were extinguished; the guns were shouldered and off they started along the Maxatawny road in the direction of Philadelphia. They stopped when they came to the top of a hill to wait for some neighbors. Here they were met by their old friend Christopher Schultz when they decided to investigate the cause of the alarm. After looking into the matter they learned that they too had followed a false rumor."

The condition of things at this time is thus described in *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, Vol. I., p. 193: "The line of the Blue Mountains from the Delaware to the Susquehanna became the scene of the carnival which the exasperated savages held with torch and tomahawk



during the latter part of the winter, 1755. The defenseless settlers were taken in a snare. They were harassed by an unseen foe by day and by night. Some were shot down at the plow, some were butchered at the fireside; men, women and children were promiscuously tomahawked or scalped or hurried away into distant captivity for torture or for coveted ransom. There was literally a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day going up along the horizon, marking the progress of the relentless invaders as they dealt out death and pillage and conflagration and drove before them in midwinter's flight hundreds of homeless wanderers who scarce knew where to turn for safety or for succor in the swift destruction that came upon them."

That the Schwenkfelders did their share of work thus thrust on the more fortunate is shown by the fact that, with others, they sent flour and other provisions to Bethlehem to relieve distress, that Christopher Schultz and John Mack, a Mennonite, joined in writing a strong letter of appeal for help to their brethren in Towamencin, Christopher Weber, Casper Kriebel, Christopher Drescher and Joseph Lukens; that David Schultz, the surveyor, a Schwenkfelder, served as one of the trustees of the money raised to put into the field in April and May, 1756, "The Maxatawny and Alle-mangle Independent Guard."

About this time the Friends began to deliberate on the formation of "The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures." The Schwenkfelders harmonizing with the principles and purposes of the association formed a union among themselves, November 13, 1756, and subscribed £206, the interest of which was devoted to such object. December 1, 1756, Christopher Schultz and Casper Kriebel attended a grand

Zeigen also die Aufwände

Daß im Mai und Juni 1757 zu einem gegebenen £ 105-12-7½  
 und im Dec 1757 und Januar 1758 .. .. 109-4-0½  
 Aus dem Quoten noch hinzugelegt .. .. 0-3-4  
 Summa - 215-0-0

So zeigen auch die Receipts von H. Robertson

Als zum ersten vom 7 Juni 1757 .. .. £ 105-12-0  
 Und zum andern vom 9 Januar 1758 .. .. 109-8-0  
 Summa 215-0-0

Wir Zeichnen gemachte bezeugen und bekennen mit dieser  
 unserer Urkunde, daß wir die Aufwände der Gelder so zu  
 dem gemachten Subscription gehörig sind, und laut desfallsigen von uns  
 förmlich an Casper Kirchel und Christoff Diefelbe gestellter Rechnung  
 examinirt haben, und befinden, daß desfallsigen Gelder so nach der  
 Capital Summe der angestrichenen Integren für den Befagten Casper  
 Kirchel und Christoff Diefelbe laut der Receipts an Israel  
 Comberton, worin an den Leuten vorerwähnter Treueken abgeben  
 solliger Danks förmlich angezeigt worden, zum Zeugniss dieser  
 haben wir diese eigensündig unterschrieben an diesem  
 22ten Tag January Anno 1758

David Diefelbe  
 Melchor Scholtze  
 Christoff Diefelbe  
 Casper Diefelbe  
 Geo. Schulze jun.

AUDITOR'S REPORT ON MONEY RAISED FOR "THE FRIENDLY ASSOCIATION"; SHOWING ALSO HANDWRITING OF DAVID SCHULTZ, THE SURVEYOR.

meeting of the contributors to such fund in the Friends school-house, Philadelphia. Receipts show that £105, 12, 0 was paid to the said association, June 7, 1757, and £109, 8, 0, January 9, 1758.

Concerning this effort Christopher Schultz wrote: "The Quakers as well as we and others who have scruples of conscience against taking up arms against an enemy were accused of not being willing to bear their due share of the common burdens. They took pity on the miserable condition of the inhabitants along the frontier and felt that the Indian war arose on account of the unjust treatment of the Indians and was carried on under unholy purposes to the serious detriment of the province. With these things in mind they formed a union among themselves and invited others to join them with the purpose of doing what was possible to restore peace with the Indians and to preserve the same in the future, knowing that such effort and object could only be accomplished by heavy labors and expense."

When in 1759, Conrad Weiser as agent appointed by Brigadier General Stanwix advertised for a number of wagons to carry provisions for the government to Bedford, Hereford Township responded. Melchior Shultz, Melchior Wiegner, David Meschter, Christopher Schultz, Schwenkfelders, aided — the latter as secretary and committee to go to Reading and make the contract with the agent Conrad Weiser.

From a letter by Christopher Schultz, dated December 1, 1760, we learn that after consulting friends concerning propositions made by the Friends it was agreed to contribute about half of the money raised by the Schwenkfelders towards release of poor prisoners and that the "rest could be left for further purposes, necessities and con-

siderations." At the same time he returned also to his friend Pemberton, "Remarks on the behavior of Paupanhoal, having copied and translated the same into high Dutch."

Loving Friends

Philad: 9<sup>th</sup> mo. 1757

I have just recd. thy letter with the translation of Hopkin's address; I am told Quaker has got it translated & printed already, but have not seen any of them, intend to write to him abt. it. The Abridgment of Vergant's Memoirs is in the press & will I expect be printed next week, when it is done I purpose to send thee some of them

Several of us intend to set out for Easton next fortnight — how long of business will keep us there is uncertain but I think not less than two or three weeks. I shall be glad to see thee there. I am tho' in haste Thy rec<sup>d</sup> friend  
 ———— J. Pemberton

LETTER FROM ISRAEL PEMBERTON TO CHRISTOPHER SCHULTZ.

In 1762, George Kriebel and Christopher Schultz were present at the Indian treaties at Easton and Lancaster.

Other treaties were probably also attended by them. There is still preserved a paper answering the question, "Why should citizens attend the treaties with the Indians," in which high ground is taken with respect to this question. Thus the Schwenkfelders in the spirit of true patriots thought and toiled and sacrificed for the general welfare. They gave an unequivocal testimony in favor of honest dealing with the red man and thus placed themselves squarely on the side of right.

The American Revolution brought perplexity, distress and many privations to the Schwenkfelders, although they as in other cases fared better than others, and comparatively speaking their lines fell in pleasant places. In approaching this period of transition we must remember the following facts: they had secured the permission of the crown of England to settle in Pennsylvania before migrating in 1734; they had promised and engaged to be faithful to the proprietor and strictly to observe the laws of the province and those of England. George Heebner and Christopher Schultz, for themselves and others, with representatives of other faiths had said in an address to Robert Hunter Morris, the Lieutenant Governor in 1754: "We know very well that we can not give sufficient thanks to the Almighty for having conveyed us into such a country, and under so mild a government where the best privileges in the known world are established." They had always sought to live as dutiful subjects should, mindful of the promises they had made. As careful and intelligent observers of the affairs of the provinces they saw the drift of things, and hoped the threatened danger and disaster might be averted. On Memorial Day, 1774, Christopher Schultz said: "The mighty ones of the British Kingdom assail our most valued liberties and we seem to be on the verge of a great change."

Parting even from an adopted parent country gave pain to them.

On the second of July, 1774, a meeting of prominent residents of Berks County was held in the Court House at Reading, which Christopher Schultz probably attended, and at which he and six others were appointed as a committee to represent the county. At this meeting the following, among other resolutions, was adopted: "That the inhabitants of this county do owe and will pay due allegiance to our rightful Sovereign, King George the Third." Five of the chosen committee, among whom was Christopher Schultz, attended a provincial meeting of deputies in Philadelphia, on the fifteenth of July, where, among other resolutions, the following was unanimously adopted: "We acknowledge ourselves and the inhabitants of this province, liege subjects of his Majesty, King George the Third, to whom they and we owe and will bear true and faithful allegiance." But the war cloud grew. In December, 1774, a county committee of observation was chosen at Reading, for Berks County, among whom was Christopher Schultz. This committee met and unanimously agreed to a proposed provincial convention, and appointed a committee of seven to represent the county, among which committee Christopher Schultz was found again. He and Melchior Wagner, a delegate from Philadelphia County, also a Schwenkfelder, attended the provincial convention for the province of Pennsylvania, in January, 1775. A series of strong resolutions was adopted, among which was the following: "Resolved, unanimously that it is the earnest wish and desire of this convention to see harmony restored between Great Britain and the colonies, \* \* \* but if the British administration should attempt to force a submission to the late arbitrary

acts of the British Parliament, in such a situation we hold it our indispensable duty to resist such force, and at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America." In voting for this and other resolutions, Schultz and Wagner undoubtedly represented the mind of the Schwenkfelders in general on the issues at stake.

On the nineteenth of April, 1775, the British commander at Lexington gave the word "Fire," to his soldiers, and thus by the seven deaths that resulted among the Americans, caused all the provinces to rise in arms against the mother country. In a letter to Germany, dated July 22, 1775, Christopher Schultz describes the battle of Lexington and then continues as follows: "Since the first blood was shed by the British you can not believe what a flame of war-spirit like a lightning stroke has set on fire all our provinces and caused them to glow. All are armed in full battle array. In cities even the little boys form companies and conduct military exercises. Ducking and stooping and guarding of words must be studiously practiced if great danger and the military roll are to be avoided, which latter our people have thus far escaped."

This wave of militarism and wrath must have had a tendency to hasten crystallization of sentiments bearing on the relation between England and the colonies. It brought out into still bolder relief the leading factions — those favoring and those opposing war with the mother country. Besides these two elements there was another class, numerous, respectable, divergent in minor details, who from religious motives alike were opposed to the bearing of arms — the Friends, Dunkers, Mennonites, the Schwenkfelders and others. These added another serious problem to the perplexities of those in power. The people in general could scarcely reconcile themselves to the feelings of

the "non-militants" and were often led to show their disapproval by acts of violence in private life, by over-officiousness in public life. A Schwenkfelder chronicler of the times says: "For those citizens of the province who at the breaking out of the war did not take up arms, the prospect was often full of fear and dread. The mad rabble said: 'If we must march to the field of battle, he who will not take up arms must first be treated as an enemy.'"

A respectable number of inhabitants of Berks County, who were conscientiously opposed to bearing arms held a meeting at Reading, September 1, 1775. In a letter transmitting the resolutions adopted by the meeting to the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia, William Reeser, who, by the way, was an intimate friend of Christopher Shultz, used these words: "Inclosed is a copy of the resolves entered into by the deputies of a considerable number of inhabitants of this county as are conscientiously scrupulous of taking up arms, though at the same time fully sensible of the justice of our cause and willing as far as in them lies to contribute to its support. \* \* \* I have the strongest assurance from the numbers of the subscription that they will ever cheerfully contribute their proportion towards the safety and welfare of the public." The list of delegates is not known to their writer, neither is it possible with present knowledge to affirm the presence or absence of Schwenkfelders, although circumstances indicate their attendance and the resolutions certainly voiced their sentiments.

On the seventeenth of May, 1776, a day of prayer was observed by the Schwenkfelders at the call of Congress for such day of general prayer. Christopher Schultz led the services. He read Leviticus XXVI., and by way of introduction referred to and briefly explained Amos III. 6: "Shall there be evil in the city and the Lord hath not



done it?" He maintained that the ministers of the English court were instruments in the hands of God like Nebuchadnezzar to punish the American people for their sins. His theme was: Seeking refuge by penitence in God the Creator, Ruler and Supporter through Christ the Lord and Protector of believers.

Space scarcely permits even a reference to the Declaration of Independence and the consequent increased pressure on the Schwenkfelders, but attention must be called to the following declaration and agreement drafted probably by Christopher Schultz and in all likelihood used as indicated, although positive proof of the latter is wanting.

**A CANDID DECLARATION OF SOME SO-CALLED SCHWENK-  
FELDERS CONCERNING PRESENT MILITIA  
AFFAIRS, MAY 1, 1777.**

We who are known by the name Schwenkfelders hereby confess and declare that for conscience' sake it is impossible for us to take up arms and kill our fellowmen; we also believe that so far as knowledge of us goes this fact is well known concerning us.

We have hitherto been allowed by our lawmakers to enjoy this liberty of conscience.

We have felt assured of the same freedom of conscience for the future by virtue of the public resolution of Congress and our Assembly.

We will with our fellow citizens gladly and willingly bear our due share of the common civil taxes and burdens excepting the bearing of arms and weapons.

We can not in consequence of this take part in the existing militia arrangements, though we would not withdraw ourselves from any other demands of the government.

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WHEREAS, at present through contempt of the manifested divine goodness and through other sins, heavy burdens, extensive disturbances by war and divers military regulations are brought forth and continued.

WHEREAS, we on the first of this month made a candid declaration concerning present military arrangements to the effect that we can not on account of conscience take part in said military affairs and

WHEREAS, it seems indeed probable that military service will be exacted from many of our people and that on refusal to render such service heavy fines will be imposed.

*Therefore*, the undersigned who adhere to the apostolic doctrines of the sainted Casper Schwenkfeld and who seek to maintain the same by public services and by instruction of the young have mutually agreed, and herewith united themselves to this end that they will mutually with each other bear such fines as may be imposed on account of refusal for conscience' sake to render military service in case deadly weapons are carried and used. Those on whom such burdens may fall will render a strict account to the managers of the Charity Fund in order that steps may be taken to a proper adjustment.

Coschehoppe, May 2, 1777.

A few weeks previous to this, March 31, 1777, Christopher Schultz was appointed a justice of the peace. Was this a bribe in guise to stop his mouth? It is to be regretted that no positive reliable information is at hand respecting the acceptance or non-acceptance of the commission. Non-filing of the commission in the proper county office, the absence of records by "Christopher Schultz, Justice of the Peace," silence in the various historical sketches and Schultz manuscripts and the general bearing of the Schwenkfelders

towards the government in general and the Revolutionary War element in particular furnish very strong circumstantial evidence to the effect that Christopher Schultz did not accept the office.

Although great hardships had already befallen the Schwenkfelders with many others, their lot was made much more grievous by the general militia act of 1777 passed to restrain the insolence of Tories. The Pennsylvania Assembly, on the thirteenth of June, passed a stringent law which among other matters required all male white inhabitants above the age of eighteen to take and subscribe before a justice of the peace an oath in the following form: "I —— do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors; and that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania a free and independent State, and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or thing that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof, as declared by Congress, and also, that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of said state all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I now know or hereafter shall know to be formed against this or any of the United States of America." The law also provided that every person refusing or neglecting to take and subscribe the said oath or affirmation "shall during the time of such neglect or refusal be incapable of holding any office of place or trust in the state, serving on juries, suing for any debts, electing or being elected, buying or selling, or transferring any lands, tenements or hereditaments and shall be disarmed." The law further states that "every person who shall travel out of the county or city in which he usually resides without

the certificate (of his oath) may be suspected to be a spy and to hold principles inimical to the United States and shall be taken before one of the justices who shall tender to him the oath or affirmation and upon refusal to take the said oath or affirmation the justice shall commit him to the common jail there to remain without bail until he shall take and subscribe the said oath or produce a certificate that he has already done so."

This "test act," as the above law was popularly known, went into operation on the first of July, 1777, and before a month had passed was used to harass the Schwenkfelders. George Kriebel, one of the number, was illegally imprisoned at Easton on charges preferred by his neighbors. On the twelfth of August, his friend Christopher Schultz drafted a strong letter to his old-time friend Sebastian Levan, of Maxatawny, who, as one of the members of the Assembly, had helped to pass the test act. On the thirteenth, Schultz went to Philadelphia to appeal to the proper authorities. He did not go in vain, for on the fifteenth of August the Supreme Executive Council took action on the case and the presumption is that George Kriebel was soon after released. The letter of Schultz is given in the Appendix. Further details are given in *Colonial Records*, XI., 269, and *Pennsylvania Archives*, V., 432 and 525. Christopher Schultz drafted a letter to his friends in Germany, December 27, 1777, from which the following words are culled: "What unrest, danger and affliction have befallen us through the fortunes of war can not well be described. \* \* \* Rash, bold, inexperienced, conscienceless heads found means through the upheaval not only to draw the government of Pennsylvania into their own hands, but also to maintain the same, contrary to the will and mind of all people of moderation. On

account of the war all things go wrong; the demands, injunctions and forcible extortions can scarcely be told which continually plague those that do not blow the horn of the war-party. Heavy fines are imposed for non-performance of military service. In spite of all this we have not allowed ourselves to be forced into the war."

We gain a glimpse at the condition of things in connection with the celebration of Memorial Day, 1777. This year the Schwenkfelders, contrary to custom, met at two places simultaneously—near Palm, in Upper Hanover, and in Towamencin. Christopher Schultz said on this occasion: "We have made use of this day for more than forty years to meet and recall together the manifested blessings of God and to exhort one another to gratitude, but the period of rest seems for the present to have reached its time of change. We have the terrible tumult of war before our ears and near our very doors. It has even come to pass that a new law has been passed according to which we who live in different counties do not have the right to meet. O that we might properly benefit by these things, confess our guilt before God, humble ourselves before Him and move His heart to pity by a proper return with the Prodigal Son! He surely would grant us protection as he has shown it to us unworthy ones until now." George Kriebel referred to this occasion in an address on Memorial Day, 1793, in which he said he regarded it one of the most important days in their American history: "English armies were in Philadelphia at the time and made frequent incursions into the farming sections, occasionally quite a distance. On account of the many reports about the army we were uneasy about our families because in some cases only wife and children or even only the children were at home. We considered it, therefore, advisable to dismiss at noon and return to our homes."

A glimpse at the general conduct and reputation of the Schwenkfelders is afforded by the following letter of George Bryan, Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council, to Colonel John Wetzel, of Northampton, dated Lancaster, May 22, 1778: "*Sir*: The Moravians and Swenkfelders have been very urgent with Assembly to relax the Test and free them from the abjuration part. The claim of the King of Great Britain forbids anything like this being done. When that prince shall renounce his claim it will be time enough to reconsider the Test. However, as these people are not to be feared, either as to numbers or malice, it is the wish of government not to distress them by any unequal fines, or by calling them without special occasion happens, to take the oath at all. The disabilities ensuing upon their own neglect are heavy, and will without further pressing (which may be termed rigor by people in general, persecution by themselves) operate strongly upon them. On these grounds, we wish it to be understood that Council and Assembly desires to avoid any noise from these people above mentioned, and to have them dealt with as others in regard to the delinquency in the militia. Your prudent advice to your friends and deputies, without exposing these lines to the knowledge of the petitioners, will serve the public interest and oblige, Your very obed't serv't G. B." A Schwenkfelder writer says that when, in 1778, the Assembly set a day when people would either have to take the test or be forever excluded from all the rights of citizenship, the Schwenkfelders finally submitted in view of the fact that the requirement pertained only to the duties of citizenship; that it came from the power that had to give protection, and that it was a duty of every soul to be subject unto the higher powers.

Christopher Schultz penned a letter to friends in Germany, in 1779, in which he used these words: "To the glory of God we must say that His protecting hand has been over us in such a fatherly way that, notwithstanding frequent fearful prospects, urgent want, severe threats and even extortions by those in authority, it is customary for our people to say as they meet in conversation, 'no one has any reason for complaint, he ought rather to thank God who has always had ways and means of escape for us even if at times punishment befell us.' The war party has thus far not succeeded in forcing any of our people to enter the military lines although all males between 18 and 53 were enrolled in the militia classes, but exorbitant sums must be paid to escape such service." The same thoughts were repeated in a letter written in 1783 signed by a number of the leading Schwenkfelders. Space forbids further reference to other interesting material in verification of these extracts.

This does not imply that no descendants of the immigrants took arms, for we know that Balzer Heydrick was a captain, and that his brothers George and Abraham Heydrick rendered some service, but the probability is that at that time they were not taking any part in the organized religious services as conducted by the Schwenkfelders and consequently not looked upon as being part of them. Neither is it implied that Schwenkfelders did not aid the cause of freedom. In illustration of this the following by the antiquarian Abraham H. Cassel is quoted from *Historical Sketches* published by the Historical Society of Montgomery County: "George Anders, a member of the Schwenkfelder sect then living on a farm, long since known as the Meschter farm, had two very fine horses and so also had his friend and neighbor Abraham Kriebel. These,

together with their handsome new wagon, just from the wheelwright, were pressed in the service of the Continental Army. Anders felt such a tender concern for his pet horses that he could hardly let them go, fearing that they might not be properly cared for. He, therefore, offered his son Abraham, then eighteen years old, to go with the horses as their groom or teamster or driver. The offer was of course gladly accepted. After he had served awhile and had gained the confidence of the superior officers he was sometimes sent considerable distances with this team for various commodities. So on one occasion he thought to take advantage of their confidence and attempted to make his escape with the team, but he dared not come home for fear of being arrested. He was therefore making his way to Goshenhoppen, in Berks County, where many Schwenkfelders lived, to his uncle, George Kriebel. But he was pursued and overtaken before he reached there, by the Superintendent of Transport. He escaped punishment by artfully pleading that he had lost his way and became so bewildered as not to know where he was. As he was yet so young and was supposed to be inexperienced about the country, the officer believed his story and therefore merely ordered him back again without any further punishment. He then served till the army was so far removed that his further services could be dispensed with. Then he got an honorable discharge, and came home with the wagon and all the horses in splendid condition."

At the organization of the society in 1782 the position of the Schwenkfelders was so well known that seemingly it was taken for granted and for many years action was but rarely taken in conferences. At the spring conference, 1828, the members took into consideration the conduct of



the young people in attending the "battalions" or military parades, as contrary to the doctrines of the church, the fathers and to what Jesus Christ had taught. At the following conference it was agreed to exhort the young people of the error of their ways and to inform them that if they insisted in their course of conduct they would by their own action exclude themselves from the church and would have to be so treated — in other words expulsion from church would follow for attending military parades.

During the Rebellion, members of the Schwenkfelder church when drafted under the conscription act of Congress avoided military service by securing substitutes. In such cases the poorer members were assisted by their richer brethren.

A study of the war record of the Schwenkfelders and their descendants would seem to warrant these conclusions. (1) No one directly connected with the religious society or church of the Schwenkfelders took up arms for active service in any war since the immigration. (2) Descendants have been engaged in every war since the Revolution including the late Spanish war. (3) No Schwenkfelder ever refused to pay the fines imposed for non-performance of military service. (4) No Schwenkfelders were ever suspected of treason, toryism or disloyalty to government. (5) Less hardship befell them than most other non-combatants.





## CHAPTER XI.

### THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THE SCHWENKFELDERS.



O far an attempt has been made in this volume to trace the Schwenkfelders in their organized relations. The pleasant duty remains of reviewing their private lives, their toils and sorrows. It is utterly impossible to do more than here and there to lift the curtain and thus to afford a glimpse. It will be an attempt to develop a composite picture of their ordinary past daily walk and conversation. Charity teaches us to leave the curtain down as to the many minor shortcomings and errors.

At birth, the parents would give thanks to the Father for His gift and the minister would remember mother and child in his ministrations for the people before the throne of grace. As soon as convenient thereafter a formal consecration of the child either public or private would be held. Isaac Schultz refers to this in the following words: "As soon as a child is born, a preacher or minister is called in to pray for the happiness and prosperity of the

child, admonishing the parents to educate their tender offspring; to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, according to the will of God. Parents generally bring their little ones into the house of worship, where the same service is performed." At one time the question arose whether a minister was at liberty to render such services when the parents were not Schwenkfelders. At times some seem to have felt that this child consecration displaced baptism.

The child was early taught to offer his prayers, sing his hymns and use his pencil and book. In 1792 Rev. George Kriebel reminded the pupils of the Hosensack Academy that they had received training in Christian doctrine from their youth up. Before the child was allowed to trot away to school he was to learn his A, B, C's. As soon as able he was encouraged to copy sermons, hymns or the esteemed words of some father. This kept the child from mischief, taught him to make good use of his time and gave him a bias to what is good, true and right. He was clothed in homemade goods and not in the flimsy and delicate fabrics of the present nor was he housed up during the winter in homes where every room registered summer heat, nor was he spoiled as to temper and digestion by gifts of cakes, sweetmeats and poisonous candies to be consumed at every unseasonable hour, nor had he a room full of tin soldiers, horses, castles, railroad trains and comic automata playthings "made in Germany."

When the child became sick or was threatened with some of the dread afflictions of childhood, domestic remedies were resorted to. Some of these were made up of herbs, roots, leaves, bark or at times their ashes. Beside these, according to a book in the hands of the writer, a record of Mrs. George Heydrick (the midwife, *d.* 1828,

who notes more than 1,700 professional visits), living crabs, pulverized egg shells, skulls of dogs, the lice of sheep, worms, red beads, human hair and unwashed yarn were also deemed of medicinal value. For example, for whooping cough, take of the hair of one who never saw his father and place it around the neck of the patient, either in a bag, or sewed in the clothing or plaited into a braid; or this: give the patient bread and butter spread by one who did not change her family-name at marriage; for convulsive fits, take a skein of unwashed yarn, spun by a child under seven years of age, pass it over the forehead of the patient, then pass the patient through the skein three times the same way, burn the yarn, gather the ashes and add a little of the ashes to the patient's soup. A curious feature of modern times is to believe in somewhat similar remedies, to reject the aid of God-fearing, scientifically trained medical practitioners and to worship the faith curist.

When the child became old enough, his religious training was actively entered upon. He was grounded in the fundamental principles by a study of the catechetical questions. In this study he was encouraged to write out all the proof-texts or even perhaps to commit to memory all the questions and answers of the catechism. He was taught how to understand the sacred didactic poetry found in the hymn-books or circulated in manuscript copy. He was instructed in prayer and in the duty of leading a God-fearing life. In these studies questions were often assigned to pupils in order that during their hours of toil their meditations might thus be directed. Christopher Kriebel, who had charge of the training of the young for more than thirty-three years, encouraged his pupils to write out comments on the assigned topic or Scripture passage, two weeks' time being allowed to prepare the answer. In this

# Jugendlicher - Handel

aus 142 <sup>so</sup> Gedanken besteht. wobei die  
Apostel - Geschichte fragmentarisch von  
vers zu vers  
durch gegangen ist

und von Zeit zu Zeit mit der

## Jugend

ist abgehandelt worden

zu Gottseliger Erbauung und Übung der Jün-  
ger Gemüther, im Erkenntnis Gottes u. Jesu Chri-  
sti unser Freilandes; als auch Anleitung zum Be-  
kenntnis unser grossen Sünden " Elendes.

und also sind allhier diese kurtze u. einfaltige Vorstellungen  
dem andächtigen Leser als auch der Jugend, zur Wiederbeg-  
lung, Nachbetrachtung u. Prüfung gesämlet.

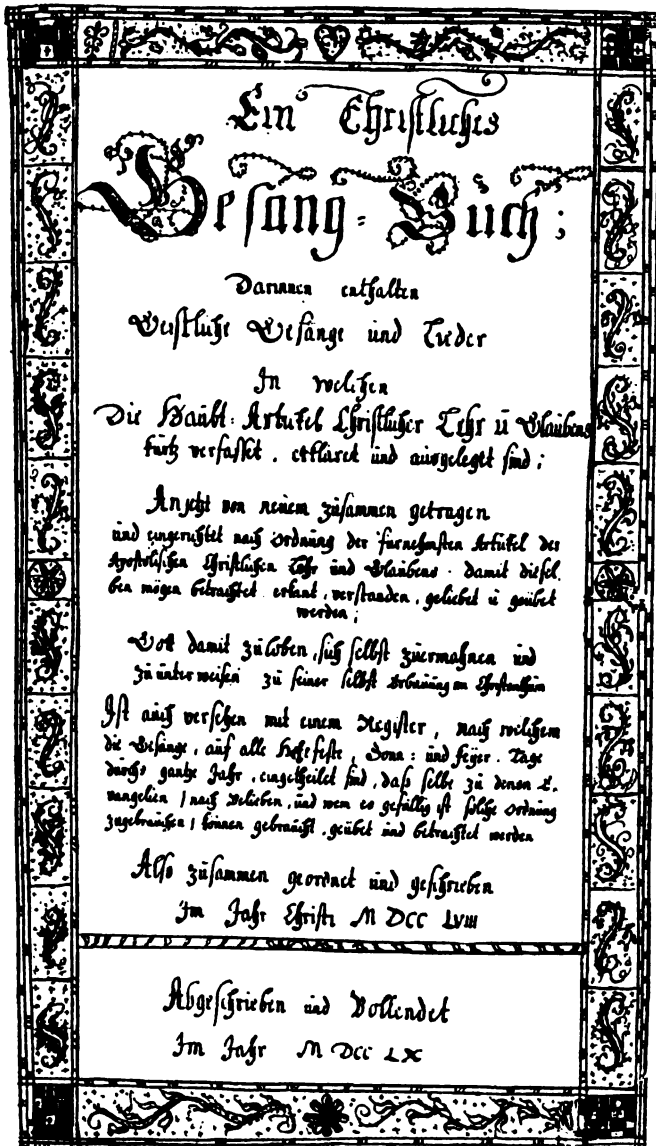
zu Endebracht 1797.

Chr. von Kriß  
Vierter Band.

TITLE PAGE OF THE FOURTH AND FINAL VOLUME OF NOTES ON  
BIBLE STUDIES BY CHRISTOPHER KRIEBEL.

way he, for instance, spent eight years in a study of the Gospel according to St. John, his own record of the questions and answers covering more than a thousand pages of closely written manuscript.

Some of the young people were in the habit of asking each other questions concerning events, persons, etc., of the Bible—even in Latin at the time of the Hosensack Academy. At a later period the young were expected to commit to memory the gospel lessons of the whole church year and received regular drill on the same by question and answer. They copied their *Tägliches Gesang Büchlein* and thus early learned to send to Heaven on the wings of song many a petition worded in the rugged rhythms of the fathers. They copied the confessions of faith and thus fixed firmly the great truths for which the fathers suffered and died. Although the modern Sunday-school is of recent date, the idea of imparting religious instruction on Sundays is not recent and the Schwenkfelder boy and girl have been accustomed to attend classes for religious instruction on Sunday ever since the fathers landed. Nor were these instructions limited to Sundays. Meetings were at various periods frequently held for such training during the week. Balzer Hoffman also prepared a question book on the gospel lessons covering the whole year to be used in the instruction of the young, in connection with his hymns on the same. One need not be surprised that under such intensive training, the life and thought of the young became tinged with a Pharisaic pride. The following words by one of the descendants of Christopher Schultz probably represent the feelings of others—unhappily not found alone among the Schwenkfelders: “When I first went away from home I had the idea that every denomination but the Schwenkfelders were in a



TITLE PAGE OF MANUSCRIPT SCHWENKFELDER HYMN-BOOK.

state nearly allied to the Gentiles and that it was a duty to avoid intercourse with them as much as possible. Whatever may have been the cause of this state of mind, I honestly thought that piety and morality were confined to the narrow limits of the church to which my parents belonged."

The Schwenkfelder parent was quite anxious to have his child secure at least the rudiments of the three R's. This position is well expressed in the preamble of the Agreement of 1764 quoted in another connection as follows: "The faithful training of the young in reading, writing and the study of the languages according to sex, age and standing, and their instruction in the principles of true religion contribute very much to the welfare and prosperity of every community. The boys and girls were thus sent to school and the words of Isaac Schultz fairly represent them: "They pay great attention to the education of their children." At the close of the term the teacher frequently favored them by giving them a pen-written memento, a kind of diploma or certificate of good conduct.

When the time came for the young man to think of finding a helpmate for himself, he was encouraged to seek a Schwenkfelder damsel. Fathers compared mixed marriages to a nesting together of the crow and the dove. The fathers even tried to tell him what the different steps in the selection ought to be, practically, how to pop the question, but young Cupid though blindfolded oft found ways to defeat the best laid plans of wise and pious parents and with his shafts inflicted the incurable wound. Alas! that at times the young could not see as the fathers did and later awoke to learn that they had loved neither wisely nor well. The ludicrous also happened. When young Hein-



rich Schneider and lovely Rosina Neuman of Gwynedd found their hearts beat as one, they started for Philadelphia to secure some proper person to declare them one. Christopher, the father, said in substance "Heinrich Schneider has stolen my Rose" and followed on horseback to prevent the impending catastrophe. His hurried ride was in vain. The twain had been wedded. God bestowed his blessing upon them and an honored patronymic was added to the list of Schwenkfelder family names. When young Christopher Schultz (afterwards the Reverend Christopher) engaged himself to Rosina Yeakel, he, as others had done, also made a will in due form bequeathing her a definite sum of money should he die before their contemplated marriage.

The following exceptional episodes are related of the courtship days of one innocent comic rural swain. He called at one place and received the "sack." On his way home either for joy or pain of heart or through a spirit of mischief, he made such a noise that the dogs along the way joined in a howling chorus and thus heralded the progress of the victim through the valleys. At another time when on a similar mission he came to a house having a so-called double-door. For some reason not explained by tradition he stepped over the lower closed half instead of opening it. One need not be surprised that he failed here too. Subsequently he called at a home where there were two buxom daughters. The older one left the room in such a manner that he had a chance to follow and make known his mission. He failed to do so and she went to bed leaving the younger sister alone with the caller. He then told her that he had called for the older sister, that although it was customary to harvest the hay before the aftermath, she would do. This meant of course another "sack."

Fourthly he tried his fortune at a place where he found a wood-chest in the sitting room. He lay down on it, saying that he found as much comfort in lying down as in sitting. Here again he failed.

When a young couple had finally decided to sail down life's stream together the next step was to go to some Justice of the Peace or church minister and have the ceremony performed. Considerable intermarrying took place. Thus the present writer can refer to 25 ancestors who came to Pennsylvania on the ship *St. Andrew* in 1734. In most cases the bridegroom, however, would go to the minister and declare their intentions in order that the same might be announced in open meeting. This was repeated several times during which period the minister met the groom and bride several times and instructed them on Christian doctrine and particularly on the duties of married life. The important day having come, the invited guests assembled at the house of the bride and awaited the minister. Regular religious services were conducted including prayer, singing and a sermon, upon which the ceremony followed and the twain were pronounced one. At the marriage feast which followed the "Schwenkfelder cake" was not missing, neither were the poor forgotten. From the table bountifully laden, the baskets were filled and members of the family dispatched to the unfortunate. Drinking, dancing and other doubtful doings were not permitted. At times the pastor would remember the new couple by sending them a letter rich with sound precepts. At one time a regulation was adopted that if members of the society were not married by the regular ministers, a confession expressive of regret at the irregular step would have to be made in open meeting. Then all steps in life were regarded sacred and entrance into the married relation one of the most sacred of all.

The young bride had — perhaps for years — been making preparations for her duties as wife and mistress of the future home. She had saved the rags — in recent decades at least — and cut them into strips to be woven into carpet by father or brother. She had made the spinning wheel hum and had prepared her thread and warp and woof for her linen and linsey-woolsey. She had probably worked her samplers to ornament the spare-room, rich in a variety of colors, filled with curious shaped animals, ornamented letters and figures or perhaps even with the reproduction of bits of landscape. She had in readiness several changes of bed linen complete with quilts, comfortables and feather-bed and coverlets displaying all the colors of the rainbow arranged in designs more or less artistic. Perchance she had even started to collect her family treasure of shining pewter or queensware ornamented with letters, figures, etc. She had learned to make her own soap, to cook and bake and, what was a pride of her heart, to make a Schwenkfelder cake. This was a risen cake, spread by rolling pin, flavored by saffron, and crowned by sweetened crumbs, as wide as the oven door or baker's tools would warrant and baked in the old-fashioned bake-oven. Sad to say the fame of the cakes at times went farther than the fame of the bakers themselves. It is probable that these cakes originated in Silesia for there to this day does the busy housewife bake the same cake called *Streuselkuchen*.

It may not be amiss to take a peep at the life in the family. Isaac Schultz says in 1844: "They — the Schwenkfelders — form a respectable part of the German community of the counties above named. Some of them pursue agriculture, some manufactures, others are engaged in commercial enterprise. By their strict discipline they keep their members orderly and pure from the contami-

nating influences of the corruptions so prevalent. They are a moral people; pious and highly esteemed by all who know them. They pay great attention to the education, the moral and religious training of their children. Many of them possess a respectable knowledge of the learned languages, Latin, etc. There is scarcely a family among them that does not possess a well-selected and neatly arranged library." Balzer Schultz relates the following expressions of opinion by C. E. Stock, the teacher of the Hosensack Academy, 1792: "I must say this, of all the sects and religious bodies I have met, and they are many, I found none with whom I was so well pleased. I have now lived with you for some time and have never heard an oath or blasphemous word. I never saw one of your people drunk. You are kind and beneficent to all, particularly to the poor. You are orderly and industrious in your calling. You do not waste your substance on splendor and richness in clothing as do others. You live separated from the world and you seek to keep your children away from the world. Neither during the week much less on Sundays do you allow your children to go to places of public resort, but encourage them in the study of the Bible." Schwenkfelders were expected to pay their debts. He who did not do so, was looked upon as having forfeited the rights of membership. If a person under adverse circumstances felt the pangs of poverty gnaw at his vitals he did not need to worry about his going over the hill to the poor house, for such as these were always cared for out of the Charity Fund, at no time exhausted since its founding. Even the tramps were not forgotten and they were known to ask the way to the Schwenkfelder valley. Even the ministers had a fund placed in their hands at one time to help along the "Weary Willies" of the road.

The peculiarities of dress spoken of by some writers have passed away. Freedom was indeed guaranteed to families by church regulation, hence no particular regulations can be spoken of. New fashions, new goods, new styles were scrupulously avoided and legislated against, and as a matter of economy the use of home-made goods was encouraged.

The Schwenkfelders were not office seekers though when called upon they usually served. Christopher Schultz was commissioned as a Justice of the Peace in 1777 but in all probability failed to accept the commission. Christopher Hoffman was appealed to by messengers to serve in a certain office for which he had been chosen but flatly refused. After the messengers had left, he said to his wife: "Oh how good is it to be able to remain humble." A few years after this Abraham Schultz was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and as such served on various committees. In more recent times the Schwenkfelders have drifted more towards public office. They have, however, always been close students of public affairs and have been intelligent readers of the current secular and religious papers. Nor have they hesitated to express themselves when occasion seemed to demand. They have always been law-abiding. They were averse to resorting to law although ready even thus to maintain their rights, if need be.

The Schwenkfelder farmer was not averse to having redemptioners in his household. Abraham Beyer, Andrew Beyer, David Schultz and Christopher K. Schultz are known to have employed them. In the case of David Schultz, Hans Ulrich Seiler had originally been helped by Abraham Beyer the father of Mrs. David Shultz who paid his ship-passage from Rotterdam. He was of a very

ugly and surly disposition. To improve matters surveyor David took the German into his own household. The outcome was that Mrs. Schultz was cruelly murdered, June 14, 1750, by Seiler, who after due process of law was executed the following November, the first German to be executed in Pennsylvania according to David Schultz. They probably never were negro slaveholders, but they are not known to have offered any assistance to the underground

*Ich der Unterzeichnete befehle hiermit, daß ich heute, den  
27. May 1845 von den Brüdern Johann Kufly und Paulus Kufly,  
Abgesandten der Schwenkfelders Gemeinderen in Worcester,  
Schiffach, Trewarrioring und der Umgebung von New York  
für den in Maryland County, ganz für den Zweck für  
langes Leben und ganz für die Mission in  
Broosa empfunden habe, und deshalb ich auch auf den  
Abgesandten obigen Mission. Rev. Kufly in Baltimore  
alt. — einhundert und fünfzig  
\$ 273.02*

*H. Bibighaus*

*Rev. H. Bibighaus, Missionar d. Schwenkfelders*

RECEIPT GIVEN BY REV. H. BIBIGHAUS FOR \$273.02, RAISED BY THE SCHWENKFELDERS FOR THE USE OF THE REV. BENJAMIN SCHNEIDER, D.D., MISSIONARY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH AT BROOSA IN ASIA MINOR. (See page 93.)

railroad. When the president or the governor called for a day of prayer, humiliation or thanksgiving the Schwenkfelders, as all loyal citizens heartily responded. Nor did he deem it too much trouble to go forty miles to cast his vote at a Provincial election.

In their secular employments they were mostly farmers though many served their fellows in various other

capacities. The peripatetic shoemaker, tailor, nailmaker, fencemaker were well known. The various steps in the manufacture of linen goods from the sowing of the flaxseed in the well-manured and well-cultivated garden spot to the bleaching or dyeing of the fabrics by home-made dyes was well-known to them by actual experience. In harvest time the larger farmers would have half a dozen grain-cradles or more in their fields which meant the employment, feeding and lodging of perhaps a score of extra hands. David Schultz, surveyor, remarks in his diary that he employed twenty-four reapers one day. With five or six, or seven meals a day of good substantial food, a demijohn of applejack on the pump floor and perhaps one in the field, a great amount of work would be done. How they would rejoice at the familiar long drawn sound of the dinner horn possibly tooted by a mischievous youngster sitting on the houseroof. If at night strange noises or merry laughter were heard, or beds turned upside down, or wagon wheels misplaced, or dead chickens placed on long poles in front of the open bedroom windows none was the wiser or less agreeable in the morning.

In turning his products into cash, the Schwenkfelder farmers would haul the grain to Flourtown, Germantown or Philadelphia. With his neighbors he would organize butter market companies in order that each of the half dozen or more farmers might take his turn in going to the "town." He would start in the small hours of the morning, with four horses attached to his heavy laden Conestoga wagon, with possibly a couple of the daughters occupying the front seats who hoped to see the sights and make purchases for the family. Such rides on a springless Conestoga over the rocks, around the stumps, on uncushioned boards with thrusts against the sides of the wagon-body

must have caused a voracious appetite and the most charming rosy cheeks and dimpled chins. The day's journey ended, the team would probably follow a long train of similar wagons to one of the numerous hostleries along the road, and the wants of man and beast would be attended to for the night. Going to bed meant for the teamsters then, lying on a bag of feed on the floor of the bar-room, trying to sleep, telling his tale of woe, listening to blood-curdling stories or cracking his jokes, sometimes rather coarse. Thus he went. On his return trip he would bring salt for his stock, gypsum for his fields, fish for the family and neighbors, storegoods for the country merchant, and last but not least by any means in the estimation of the recipients, trinkets for the little boys and girls in exchange for the nuts or nicely combed hog bristles given him to market. Tradition tells us that where East Greenville is now located there was formerly one of the worst stretches of road along the whole Philadelphia route, one that farmers always dreaded—and particularly on cloudy, moonless nights—the winding between the trees and through the bogs and low places axle-deep with sticky mud.

When the apples were ripe, apple butter parties were in order. Who can declare the rural joy in picking apples under the wide spreading apple trees and making the luscious cider at the old-fashioned home-made cider mill, in drinking the sweet cider or eating the rich cidersoup, in making bushels of "schnitz," in stirring the mixture of schnitz and cider until the proper consistency has been reached, in trying to eat the tempting fool cake filled with tow prepared by the smiling, haughty farmer's daughter, in dipping the finished product from the copper kettle and gathering up the remains along the sides of the kettle either with crooked finger or crust of bread and eating to



one's heart's content. He who has not joined on such or similar occasions in playing a game of "Blumsock" (hunt the slipper) knows not what genuine innocent sport is.

At times spinning wheels would be shouldered, and a visit made to a neighbor to talk and spin. The year's crops being all harvested, thrashing was in order which was done by flail, or rude machine or the quasi-Scriptural method of letting the horse tread out the golden grain. If there was naught else to do, spinning was engaged in by father, mother, son and daughter the whole winter through, the aim being to finish the year's spinning by Candlemas — "*Lichtmes. Spin Vergess.*" Some might occasionally be seen working on the tape machines weaving strings, either ornamental for the Sunday-go-to-meeting apron or plain for household use or for father's grain bags. The various looms too were kept in motion and the miller in the hollow sang and whistled as his wheel turned round, grinding out the grist or yielding the pure linseed oil and meal.

When the snows began to fall and sleighing was thus assured, Christoffel or Balthasar or Hans Heinrich would sniff the air, and say to Bevvv and Molly, "To-night we will take a sleigh ride." Word would be sent to the neighboring houses, the home-made bob-sleigh would be brought forth, the wagon body placed on it and half filled with clean straw. Grain bags would be stuffed full of straw and placed cross-wise for seats. In due time eight, ten or a dozen pairs of the neighboring boys and girls would start off. The inexperienced can not appreciate the pleasures of a sleigh ride in a crisp, moonlight night, horses prancing, sleighbells ringing in bright jingling tones, girls, laughing, dogs barking, the hills reëchoing, and all hearts light and gay and free. The spacious farmhouse of some blood relation or friend being reached, all would jump out,

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WEAVING TAPE ON A HEDDLE LOOM.

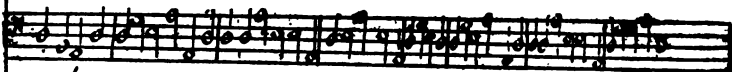
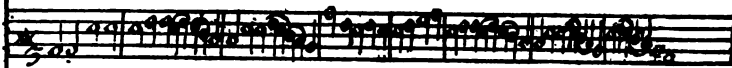


# Kurze Anweisung

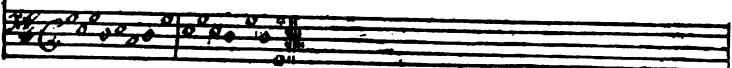
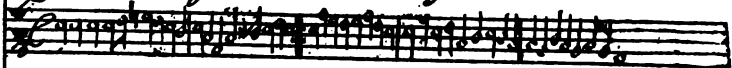
Local. Musik in Prag und Umgegend gesammelt.

1) Was ist bei der Kunststoffeinführung zu beachten?  
als Lieferanten und Leistungen.

fil. Isif. f. 100v und 101r. 101v



Es ist das Heil und Glück für

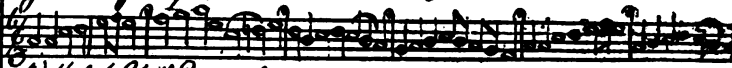


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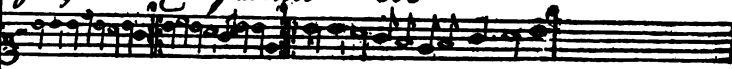
Galathea Kofu ist Rotmuse

23



Ich bin Ihr ergebener

659



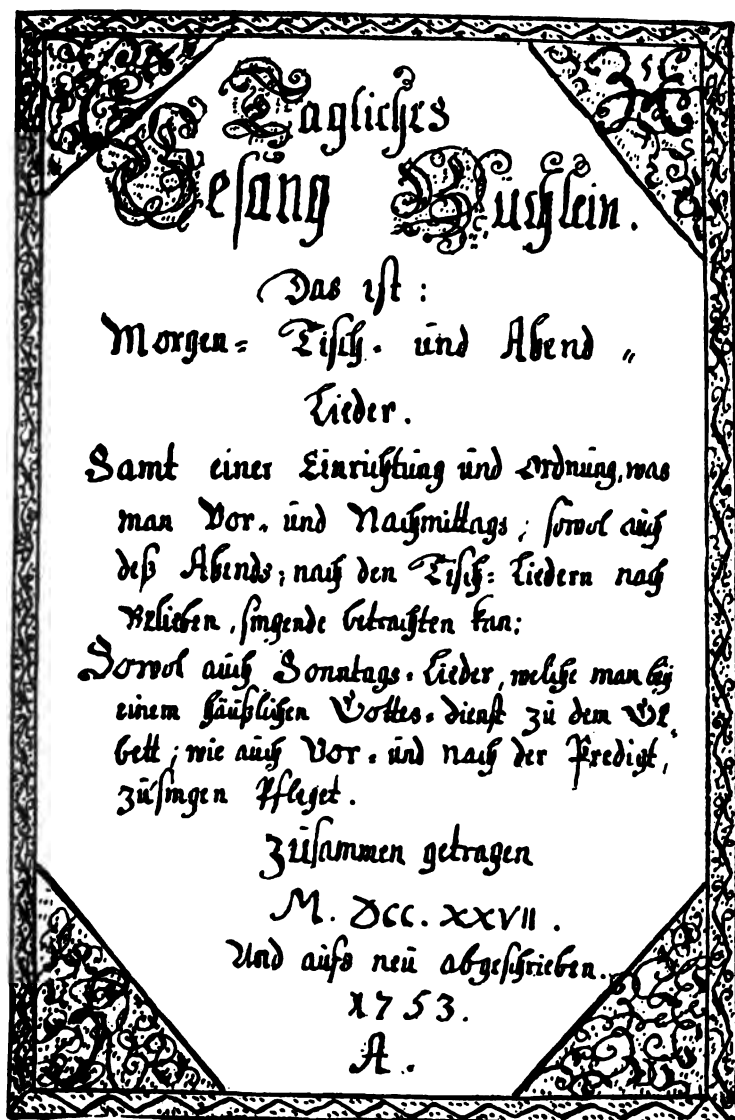
some perhaps to measure their own length in a snowdrift, the horses would be led to the spare stalls back of the cows, and the good wife would make the whole company feel welcome. Games were perhaps indulged in, but none such as might prove but nurseries of future wrongdoing were allowable. Supper was served and as the small hours of the morning came the company broke up and the rustic lads and lasses wended their way homeward.

In his religious life the Schwenkfelder would begin and end each day in prayer, though oft in secret and inaudibly. At each meal, either silently or audibly, by prayer, song or the innocent child's lisping, he would return thanks to God for his gifts. He had his book of daily prayers and hymns, which he did not fail to use. If he wished to have a particular book, either in manuscript or print, he did not regard it beneath his dignity, or as unworthy of his manhood, or as being a useless waste of time, to copy such envied production in full for himself. He would even take up knotty questions in theology for study and write out his comments. In his library he had the sermons, either printed or written, of Werner, Hiller, Weichenhan Hoburg, the Epistolaren of Schwenkfeld, the mystic writings of Hoburg and the collections of letters of more recent times. These he read and studied. He had courses of reading so that various books might be read through in course during the year. The Pennsylvania Historical Society, has one of these "courses" complete for the church year, in which all the leading Schwenkfelder writers, from Schwenkfeld to Balzer Hoffman, are referred to. Each Sunday has readings arranged for *Früh, Vormittags, Nachmittags, Kinderlehr*. The authorship is not determined. On Sunday, if he did not go to meeting, he would have his devotions in his home. After the morning

chores were done and the family clothed in the clean home-spun to be worn the following week, the family would gather, hymns were sung, prayers offered, perhaps read out of his book of prayers, and the sermon for the Sunday read by some one of the family. Woe to the child that fell asleep. If a hearer became listless, the book would be passed to him with a request to continue the reading. Doubtless the minds of the youthful worshippers would be wandering over the green pastures, beside the still waters or by the shady swimming pool, while the body was paying due respect to the solemnities of the occasion. Sermon ended, the dinner and the feeding of the lowing herd would demand attention. In the afternoon the young would not be allowed to wander away from home to engage in mischief. They would gather for instruction in their places of worship, or, staying at home, would copy sacred hymns or sermons, or engage in other religious exercises, or as amateur artists they would paint houses, ornamental letters, or creations of the imagination; sometimes the young ladies of the household would ply their needles on their fancy work. Before 1790 the Schwenkfelder had no house of worship to go to. When after that he went to his place of prayer and praise he had no bell to call the people, no backs or cushions to the seats, no stained glass windows, no carpets to hush the footfall of the belated worshipper, no ushers to tell the people to come up higher, no organ to drown the voice of the singers, no choirs to praise God by proxy, no Rev. Blank, D.D., LL.D., to dazzle with a sensational pyrotechnic display of smooth-flowing cadences and glittering generalities. The service he attended was non-liturgical though the sermon or prayers were occasionally read from printed books or from manuscripts. His preacher served without

pay, hence could be fearless and free and had no occasion to measure the effect of his labors by the subscriptions in the successive collection books. In worship sexes and ages were seated separately, men were dressed so much alike that one would involuntarily think of uniforms. The snow-white caps, aprons and neckerchiefs of the women placed the worshipper in a devotional frame of mind. The boys and girls sat by the parents in their home-spuns and probably barefooted in summer time. In prayer they stood in reverent attitude, and as the names of the Saviour were mentioned by the preacher they all slightly bent the knee, and thus visibly and inaudibly expressed their amens to praise and supplication.

As an illustration of the procedure when death invaded the family and claimed a victim we will quote Christopher Kriebel's letter of 1769: "We in 'Coschehoppe, Shippach and Towamencin,' have our own burying grounds at each place. Many have burying grounds on their own land for their families. Others who lived a considerable distance away have buried their dead in burying grounds of people who are not of our faith, since those of quite different religious views have buried there for the earth is quite common to such use in our land. We have also allowed our neighbors who live near us and are of different religious views to bury in our grounds. The ceremony with us is as follows: on the death of any one, there is a general consultation between the family of the deceased and the neighbors in reference to the burial of the body; a duty is assigned to each one which he is expected to attend to until the ceremonies are ended. At the same time provision is made for messengers to go on horseback to the distant places where our people reside, and since for a long time no minister has been among us, a request is made at the



TITLE PAGE OF MSS. HYMN BOOK FOR FAMILY WORSHIP.



same time of the one who is to speak a word of exhortation on the occasion of the funeral. On account of our homes being considerably scattered many horses are brought together (the women are as good riders on their side-saddles as the men ; there is no difference). The horses from a distance are fed, the people are provided with bread, butter and a refreshing drink, on cold days warm drinks are provided. The care of horse and man, the digging of the grave and the burial are entrusted to the neighbors who are designated by the bereaved family. The place where the preaching takes place is at times under the open sky, but mostly in the barns which usually prove entirely too small, so that many have to sit and stand outside. The exercises are opened with the singing of a hymn or two, which is followed by a discourse of perhaps an hour and a half and then closed by another hymn. Upon this the body is carried to the grave and buried while a hymn is sung. Thanks are expressed for the love shown during the bereavement and invitations are given to return to the house of mourning for refreshment." Though reforms and changes have been introduced in funeral customs, the essential mode of procedure has not been materially changed, since this was written.





## CHAPTER XII.

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.



HE preface of the second edition of the *Catechism* by Christopher Schultz opens with these words: "A pure, Christian system of doctrine of faith is among all temporal gifts and favors of God, the greatest and most important." In these words the author but voices the controlling sentiment of all sincere and earnest Schwenkfelders. Among such people, the student would naturally expect to find in addition to doctrinal education, considerable activity in the line of religious literature and such has been the case. Casual reference has been made to this in earlier chapters; an effort will be made to present a concise review of the American efforts in this direction without attempting to catalogue all the productions.

The correspondence of these people with their European friends and acquaintances affords much light in this direction. This began probably as early as 1731 when George Schultz, the brother of surveyor David, landed in Philadelphia. The present writer has in this connection com-

piled a partial list of over 200 letters still preserved extending from 1733 to 1792, some of which are quite lengthy productions. It is probable that prior to 1765 the correspondence was somewhat limited partly due to the fact that means of conveyance or the mail facilities were meager. At that time, however, on account of Heintze, Kurtz, Groh, Fliegner and others, living in or near Probsthayn, more interest began to manifest itself. Thus for instance we read that in 1769, 39 letters were enclosed in one package, in 1770, 41, and in 1774, 44.<sup>1</sup> From 1776 to 1784, there was almost a complete interruption of correspondence on account of the Revolutionary war. These letters are a mine of information respecting the inner life of the community during the whole period. A package of them was found by Ober-Lehrer Friedrich Schneider in his extensive historic researches who wrote these words in reference to them: "From all of these there shines forth a pious and peaceful mind. The condition of these Schwenkfelders is continually good. In expression most of these letters are correct, fluent and cultured. \* \* \* The letters of this Susanna Wiegner (Mrs. George Wiegner) in spite of her age are written in a firm and neat hand and their style betrays an unusual education." In subject matter these were letters of friendship, business, religious exhortation or doctrinal controversy of an individual or general nature. From this correspondence we also learn that efforts were made at various times by the Schwenkfelders to rescue their old doctrinal books, among others those taken from them during the time of the Jesuit Mission 1720 to 1726. Considerably prior to 1767, boxes full of books

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<sup>1</sup> Sample "addresses" of these letters: "Aan Monsier George Hübner in Pencilvania im Valckner Swam"; "Aan Melchior Hübner 12 Stonden von Philadelphia in Pensilvania"; "Dises Briflein zu kommen an George Hübner als meinem liben Schwager in Pensilvanien."

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SCHWENKFELDER MATRONS.

DRESSED FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP AS CUSTOMARY DURING LAST CENTURY.



were imported through their friend Wigand of Frankfort. The price of an Epistolar of Schwenkfeld was 12 to 18 gulden—a gulden equals 41 to 48 cents. References show that other importations were made and that money was raised for such purpose.

Besides this correspondence the early life in Pennsylvania shows remarkable activity in denominational literature. Many of the manuscript volumes are still preserved and prove rich feasts to the eye of the book-lover. Numbers of these have been allowed to pass into strange hands to be highly treasured or to be allowed to be destroyed. Some of the volumes are stately developments of lines of thought more or less profound; others mere collections of papers on allied themes; others, record of work in the training of the young; others, crude "What-nots" for the preservation of literary gems or curiosities. Series of sermon outlines by most of the ministers are still preserved affording much valuable information. Writings of a controversial nature are not wanting either as for instance those against the views of Jane Leade, or Jacob Boehme, or the restorationists or the lively sparring of Joshua Schultz and Daniel Weiser.

With respect to a special line of work, Hon. S. W. Pennypacker used these words in an address before the Pennsylvania-German Society: "I want to call your attention to another sect, the Schwenkfelders who came to Pennsylvania. They were the followers of Casper Schwenkfeld and the doctrines taught by him were almost identical with those taught by the Quakers. They came in 1734. Their literature was extensive and interesting. It is reproduced for the most part in huge folios written upon paper made at the Rittenhouse paper-mill on the Wissahickon, the earliest in America. These volumes

sometimes contained 1000 pages, bound in stamped leather with brass covers and brass mounting. (Christopher Hoffman was their bookbinder. H. W. K.) Among the notable facts connected with their history is that they prepared a written description of all the writings of Schwenkfeld and their other authors and it is as far as I know the first attempt at a bibliography in this country." (*Pennsylvania Germans*, Vol. II., 38.) In connection with this bibliography a record was made of the contents of the books owned by the different families (1741-1747) in the Salford and Towamencin districts. The abrupt breaking off of the record suggests the probability that it had been planned to extend the list. The writer has no knowledge that anything like this was attempted since.

It is worthy of note that the huge manuscript volumes were in nearly every instance supplied with registers or indexes. Too often, it is to be feared, people have looked upon these manuscript volumes as a quantity of paper rather than as a record of midnight toil and anguish of soul, historic accretions of profound thinking, rubies and diamonds perchance for the adornment of God's spiritual temple and kingdom. Fortunes have been won and lost but no one seems to have thought of collecting, collating and saving from destruction, these treasures by providing a place for them and a fund for their proper care, study and publication. Can God bless a people that carelessly despises its heritage and forgets its history?

It will be profitable and instructive to particularize a little more closely with respect to the work done by some of these toilers.

George Weiss, son of Casper, was born in Harpersdorf, Lower Silesia, Germany, in 1687. Abandoning his property on account of persecution, he like others went with

his family to Saxony in 1726 and to Pennsylvania in 1734, where he died in 1740. As a youth he was not allowed to be idle if one may judge by his copying Michael Hiller's *Postill* before he was thirteen years old. His father, a strenuous Schwenkfelder, collated a large hymn-book, a large book of prayers, and glosses or comments on various passages of the Bible. The son in helping to copy these, early received a sound religious training. In 1720 George wrote a *Confession of Faith* for the Schwenkfelders and answers to the questions propounded by the Jesuit missionaries. About the same time he wrote an extended article on clothing in which he took a very stringent position in favor of simplicity of dress and against the innovations creeping in on the Schwenkfelders. By 1730 he had completed a series of poetic productions collected in a volume having the following title page literally translated : "*Meditations, that is studies and spiritual explanations of the names of different patriarchs and prophets in the Old Testament and of the evangelists and apostles in the New Testament with expositions of the hidden mysteries bearing on Christ the Son of God who was to and did assume flesh and in it did redeem his people and unite man with God; composed, meditated and arranged in simple rhyme according to the mind (Sinn) of the Holy Spirit and the Holy Scriptures.*" About the same time he practically rewrote Suderman's hymns based on the Song of Solomon rearranging the same, assigning a suitable melody and in many cases adding one or more stanzas. In 1733, he began to write letters to various members of the Schwenkfelder community on Scripture passages as a means of religious culture and thus in a little more than a year composed material that would fill almost 400 pages of a book octavo size. After the migration to Pennsylvania he continued



this doctrinal and devotional letter writing. At death he left incomplete several series of studies in the line of revealed theology, and about 1,600 catechetical questions on creation, prayer, the Lord's Prayer, faith, the Ten Commandments, the Christian church, the knowledge of Christ, Baptism, the Lord's Supper and marriage.

Balzer Hoffman, like his bosom friend George Weiss, was born in Harpersdorf, 1687, and under like circumstances came to Pennsylvania, where he died in 1775. The importance of his father Christopher is indicated by his being chosen as one of the three Schwenkfelders to go to Vienna to plead tolerance before Charles VI. Like Weiss, young Balthasar also copied his *Postill* before he was thirteen years old. During the Vienna mission he as one of the three aided in placing seventeen memorials before Charles. His son Christopher made out a descriptive catalogue of his writings, the original of which is in the possession of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker. According to said catalogue, the period of his productive writing extends at least from 1722 to 1773. The catalogue enumerates 58 tracts, refers to 83 letters and fails to mention his hymns, his historical sketches and minor productions. The writings are classified under three heads: (a) *Studies of the Bible either by verses or chapters*; (b) *other useful studies and confessions*, and (c) *studies of hymns*. Want of space forbids enumeration of these. Among the more important efforts are the following:

1722. A short catechism.

1724. A postill called *Epistasia* on the Epistle lessons of the church year. He arranged the same texts in rhymes 1726 and composed prayers to accompany them 1738.

1725. A study of the epistle to the Hebrews called *Hexatomus*.

1734. A postill on the gospel lessons for the church year called, *Evangelische Jahr Betrachtung*. He prepared questions as a guide for the study of these in 1744 and also arranged them in rhyme.

1743. A glossary in German of Scripture terms.

1751. A careful study of the Apostle's Creed.

He composed studies of many hymns, wrote out in comparative fullness his "Gedächtniss tag" sermons, prepared historical sketches of the Schwenkfelders and worked out elaborate productions in the line of revealed theology. One of these was called *Hodophænum*. He seems to have supervised the copying of the Weiss hymn-book by his son Christopher, and thus performed serviceable work preliminary to the hymn-book of 1762. Before the migration, he at various times, quaintly used the pseudonym, *Barachiah Heber* or implied his initials *B. H.* by placing prominently on the title page two words beginning with these letters.

Christopher Schultz, son of Melchior, was born in Harpersdorf, 1718, was taken to Saxony by his parents at the time of their flight, came as an orphan to Pennsylvania and died in 1789. He was a remarkable man and for many years the chief figure in the Schwenkfelder community. He was all his life a close student, a clear thinker, and a fearless, Godfearing Christian. With respect to his literary work the following cursory remarks at least seem in place. His description of the voyage to Pennsylvania in 1734 by the Schwenkfelders is a classic in its way, and does credit to an orphan of sixteen. He collected some of the letters of George Weiss and probably his catechetical questions also about the year 1743. He copied Hoffman's *Hexatomus*, 1746, and probably aided in the preparation of a paper on marriage with respect to

views and customs among the Schwenkfelders, 1748. From 1750 to 1775 he wrote the *Historische Anmerckungen*, published in the *Americana Germana*, Volume II., No. 1. From a letter to his friend Israel Pemberton the following words are quoted: "With these presents I do return the remarks on the behavior of Paupanahoal, having copied and translated the same into high Dutch. It hath been very acceptable to several of my friends who rejoice in perceiving the hand of grace to operate so strongly on the poor heathen." In the publication of the *Neu-Eingerichtetes Gesangbuch* of 1762 he was a hearty worker. In 1763 the first edition of his *Catechism* was issued. In 1764 he led the Schwenkfelders in organizing the school system described in another chapter. In 1768 he prepared a short sketch of Schwenkfeld and his followers at the request of his friends, Anthony Benezet and Israel Pemberton, which with other material was sent to the Queen of England, Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The Queen had heard of the Schwenkfelders at home, made inquiries concerning them on coming to England, sent greetings to them through Jacob Haagen, a Quaker, and expressed a desire to see their books and know more of them. In 1770 he translated one of Schwenkfeld's tracts on the Christian life for the benefit of Quaker boys who were at his home to study German. In 1771 the *Erläuterung*, or defense of Schwenkfeld and his followers, was issued — to a great extent the work of Christopher Schultz. The *Compendium* or *Glaubenslehre* written out by him was begun in 1775 and finished in 1783 and then allowed to lie in manuscript more than half a century. In 1777 he translated a number of letters on education which had been published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 1775. In 1782 he drew up the constitution of the Schwenkfelder

Society or Church. After subjecting the first edition of his *Catechism* to a severe scrutiny and consequent revision, he issued a second edition in 1784. It may be of interest to quote the following words from Yeakel's *History of the Evangelical Association*, Volume I., page 48: The Schwenkfelders had "also some very good books, especially an excellent Catechism, of which Rev. William W. Orwig made a liberal use in compiling the second Catechism for the Evangelical Association, published in 1846." A cursory examination shows that in many cases the exact wording was embodied, in others slight variations were made. Singularly the author failed to acknowledge any indebtedness to any one for his Catechism. Christopher Schultz took an active part in the Heintze correspondence and on various occasions came to the defence of the faith in vigorous controversial writings. His sermons at marriages, funerals, and on memorial days, he in many cases wrote out quite fully, and in such shape they are still preserved. A study of his orthography shows that after he had begun his literary work he deliberately changed his system of spelling. While he was thus toiling he also served as pastor, gratis, won his food and raiment and made himself generally useful to the community.

Dr. Abraham Wagner, son of Melchior, was born 1715 (circa) and came to Pennsylvania 1737, where he died 1763. He was an earnest broad-minded Christian and a great reader. He collected poems of John Kelpius, extensive biographical notes on Spener whom he admired and wrote a beautiful letter to Muhlenberg quoted in the *Hallesche Nachrichten*. His poetic productions began before he was 18 and continued to his death. More than fifty of these products are still preserved.

Christopher Wiegner, the diarist, son of Adam Wiegner, was born in Harpersdorf, 1712. During the flight of the Schwenkfelders he was taken to Görlitz, by his parents, where he soon came to take an active part in the religious life of the community. He began to keep a diary or record of his experiences during this time and kept it up until 1739, thus covering the life among the Moravians in Saxony, the migration to Pennsylvania and life in Montgomery county. It furnishes many interesting and authentic details of the momentous period in which he lived. It is to be hoped that ways and means may be found for putting the same into print. For further details see Chapter VIII.

David Schultz, the surveyor, son of George, was born in 1717, came with his father to Pennsylvania in 1733 on account of persecutions and settled in the Goshenhoppen valley where he died, 1797. He wrote an account of the migration to Pennsylvania of the company with which he came published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. X., page 167. He was a great reader and almost incessant writer and in his general relations one of the most important men of his community. He kept a diary in interleaved almanacs that came to light a few years ago and were in part published by the late Henry S. Dotterer in *The Perkiomen Region*. In announcing this publication the editor said: "In the next number of the *Perkiomen Region* we shall commence the publication of a MS. of extraordinary historical interest. It relates especially to the early settlements at Goshenhoppen — old and new, Falkner Swamp, Hereford, Hosensack, Great Swamp, Colebrookdale and Salford, but in a wider sense it furnishes a great amount of authentic information regarding the Colonial period, its people and their

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



PHOTO. J. F. SACHSE.

SPECIMEN VOLUMES OF MANUSCRIPT.  
WRITTEN AND BOUND BY THE SCHWENKPFELDERS IN PENNSYLVANIA.



interests. It is the journal kept by David Shultze, immigrant, colonist, surveyor, scrivener, law adviser, a resident of Upper Hanover township in the Perkiomen Valley. In his journal three languages are employed, German, English and Latin." He wrote a number of poems, one of these on the death of his wife, murdered June, 1750, and scattered notes suggest that he contemplated publishing a book. Rev. C. Z. Weiser wrote these words concerning him: "We have abundant records to show that he had been the recognized scrivener, conveyancer, surveyor and general business agent for the frontier settlers scattered over a wide district in Eastern Pennsylvania as far down as 1797.

Christoph Hoffman son of Balthasar Hoffman was born in 1732 and received a careful religious training at the hands of his father. Between 1758 and 1760 he copied the Weiss hymn book. As a catechist he made record of the work done by him and his class, he wrote an interesting account of his father's life and labors and collected and catalogued his writings in 1795. As minister he delivered sermons on various occasions which are still preserved.

Christoph Kriebel son of Christoph came to Pennsylvania with his parents as a lad of 14 in 1734. In his younger days he copied a number of manuscript volumes. At the religious conference of 1762 he took an active part and read a paper that met with approval by the company. He became a catechist and later a preacher among the Schwenkfelders. As such he wrote out some of his sermons, one series consisting of twenty sermons on the sacraments. He recorded the questions and answers in connection with his Bible classes in four volumes extending from 1764 to 1797. He took a leading part in the



Heintze correspondence and made a collection of copies of the more important letters received and sent.

Of the publications relating to the Schwenkfelders the following items may be noted:

1742. *Das kleine A. B. C. in der Schule Christi*—Dr. Abraham Wagner.

1748. *Von dem wahren, ewigen Friedsame Reiche Christi*. George Frell—Germantown, Saur.

1748. *Auszug aus Christian Hohburgs Postilla Mystica*—Saur.

1762. *Neu-Eingerichtetes Gesang-Buch*—Germantown, Saur.

This is a hymn-book 5 x 7, double column, containing xxxiii + 760 pages with three indexes. The book was one of the most ambitious attempts in the line of hymnology in the colony up to that time and must have meant very considerable labor and expense. Christopher Schultz in his *Historische Anmerckungen* says in substance: The printing of a hymn-book for our own use, discussed for some time was regarded desirable because the hymns in use lay scattered, the old printed Picard hymn-books were passing out of use and copying was a tiresome and expensive work. The matter came to an issue in 1759 in such form that a plan was agreed upon and sufficient subscribers declared themselves, and it was decided to proceed with the matter and have the book published. To prepare the manuscript for the printer meant an incredible amount of labor and conferring. The printer began work on it the middle of 1761 and finished the work by the end of 1762. In the introduction are found the following words: "It has been the object to gather beautiful, instructive and edifying hymns. With respect to the beautiful or what may properly be called the beautiful in this connection, but few in

# Höðrþanum 22 1/2 Núþaga Handritning

## Königliche Vorstellung

Es ist zu wissen  
daß die in diesem Buche  
enthaltenen Handschriften  
von dem Könige  
als ein sehr wertvolles  
Gut betrachtet werden.

Die in diesem Buche  
enthaltenen Handschriften  
sind von dem Könige  
als ein sehr wertvolles  
Gut betrachtet worden.

Die in diesem Buche  
enthaltenen Handschriften  
sind von dem Könige  
als ein sehr wertvolles  
Gut betrachtet worden.

Königliche Vorstellung

Barachiah Heber

M D C C X X V.

Ein  
nützliches und ansehnliches

Büchlein

Von der Natur des Menschen  
des Christen ist und Wesens;  
Mit Zusetzung gewisser Beiwörter aus heiligen  
Schrift, die eine Begreifung des menschlichen  
Geistes und Vernunft

Darum frage ich den Leser  
wünsche ich

den Lesern  
Betrachtungen und Erwägungen  
einstellig beistehen und gütlich  
zu sein. 1700 und 1701

Zusammen geschrieben M D C C X L I X

ist darauf abgedruckt 1750

# Kürzer und Bräutlicher Bericht

Von den Schwerefeldern

Da es uns so gefallen und gegungen  
in diesem Buche, daß die in diesem  
Buch enthaltenen Handschriften  
von dem Könige als ein sehr wertvolles  
Gut betrachtet werden.

Die in diesem Buche  
enthaltenen Handschriften  
sind von dem Könige  
als ein sehr wertvolles  
Gut betrachtet worden.

Die in diesem Buche  
enthaltenen Handschriften  
sind von dem Könige  
als ein sehr wertvolles  
Gut betrachtet worden.

Zusammen geschrieben von  
Herrn Heber

Abgedruckt im Jahr 1787 von

Salzer Buchh.

# Ein Sammlung Magischer Schriften u. Betrachtungen

worin auf  
zweihundert Bedeutungen

von  
Zaubermenten mit

darin sind  
alles zur Prüfung dargestellt  
nach der Vermutung. 1700

1. Hebr. 5; 21.  
Prüft alles, u. der gütig befol.  
ist.

Zusammen geschrieben

1798

von

Chr. Kr.

our day agree nor would we dispute the taste and judgment of any one. With those however who find the beauty of hymns in the high art of poesy, graceful words and ingenious flowery style or sounds pleasing to the ears, one hopes to win but scant credit through this collection. Such will do well to look for these things not here but elsewhere, though no innocent use of these things is disparaged. For ourselves we chose to aim for what is beautiful before God in order that it may meet his favor and glorify Him. With Him a pure simplicity is an ornament of beauty; this does not mean silliness nor ignorance but a oneness of the heart with God, a condition in which the eye of the mind does not concern itself with what is pleasing to the world, the flesh and evil lusts thereof." This thought influenced their choice of selections and gave tone to their entire work. Sixty authors are represented. The old Bohemian and Moravian hymns sung for many decades by the fathers of the faith received special consideration. They themselves made the following contributions:

Dr. Abraham Wagner, hymns: 6, 7, 10, 14, 96, 109, 139, 173, 191, 281, 283, 365, 457, 478, 495, 711, 733, 742, 751, 756, 787, 754, 789, 800, 802, 821, 822, 826, 832, 833, 845, 847, 850, 463, 801.

Balzer Hoffman, hymns: 1, 253, 303, 309, 310, 319, 320, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 374, 383, 571, 572, 578, 579, 580, 581, 588, 589, 617, 618, 626, 627, 628, 705, 709, 710, 755, 792, 854, 855, 856, 458, 573.

Casper Kriebel, hymns: 234, 311, 619, 623, 629, 717, 326.

Christoph Kriebel, hymns: 492, 714, 715, 716, 742, 745, 746, 747.

Christoph Schultz, hymns: 157, 312, 360, 380, 469, 590, 744.

David Seipt, hymn: 673.

George Weiss, hymns: 3, 36, 37, 221, 222, 240, 246, 247, 248, 252, 321, 422, 423, 468, 473, 486, 509, 532, 592, 600, 601, 602, 603, 712, 713, 722, 777.

These constitute 123 numbers, out of a possible 917. By the time the second revision had been finished in 1869, only 26 numbers were regarded worthy of being retained, a result in harmony with the general tendency to drift away from the old moorings.

1763. *Catechismus oder Anfänglicher Unterricht, Christlicher Glaubens Lehre.* Philadelphia, Miller.

1771. *Erläuterung für Herrn Caspar Schwenkfeld, und die Zugethanen seiner Lehre.* Jauer. Heinrich Christ Mullern.

A part of the title page of this book literally translated reads as follows: "An explanation for Casper Schwenkfeld and the adherents of his faith relating to many points in history and theology which commonly are presented incorrectly or passed entirely over, in which their history to 1740 is briefly told, their confessions of faith are summarized and the true conditions of the disputes concerning the ministry, the holy Scriptures and the glory of the humanity of Jesus Christ are unfolded; truthfully and simply described from approved, credible and many hitherto unpublished documents and from personal experience, offered to the service of all seekers after and lovers of the truth by a few of those who sometime ago migrated from Silesia and now reside in Pennsylvania in North America." The necessity for a publication of this kind was felt for some time; consequently in the fall of 1768, it was resolved to issue the book. During the following winter Christopher Schultz prepared the manuscript and by March a printer's copy was in the hands of their friends, the Moravians, to be forwarded to their European correspondent

Heintze at Probsthayn for printing. Heintze received it in October, 1769, and, on application for a royal concession to print, gave the manuscript to the proper officers for examination who did not return the same until July 19, 1770, with the desired authorization to print. The printing of the edition of 500 was finished in April, 1771. Copies were received in Philadelphia in November, 1772, after which they had to be bound by the Schwenkfelder book-binder, Hoffman, before they were ready for general circulation.

1772. *Der Schwenkfelder Glaubens-Bekennntnisz*. Im Jahr 1718. Jauer.

1784. *Kurze Fragen ueber die Christliche Glaubens-Lehre*. Philadelphia, Carl Cist.

1791. *Christliche Betrachtungen ueber die Evangelische Texte*. Durch Erasmus Weichenhan, Germantaun, Michael Billmeyer.

This was a revised edition of the Sultzbach edition of 1672. Propositions had been made to have it printed before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War but on account of this it was put off. Christopher Schultz wrote the sermons for Whitmonday and Ascension Day. He had been instructed even to prepare a postill for the whole church year.

1795. *An Inaugural Botanico-Medical Dissertation on the Phytolacca decandra of Linnæus*. By Benjamin Schultz, of Pennsylvania, Member of the Philadelphia Medical Society. Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson.

1806. *Gebet-Büchlein*, Germantaun. Michael Billmyer.

1813. *Neueingerichtetes Gesangbuch - Philadelphia*. Conrad Zentler. (Revised edition of hymnbook of 1762.)

1816. *Dankbare Erinnerung an die Schwenkfelder in Nord America* \* \* \* Görlitz. Heinze. As a slight token

of gratitude for favors shown to their fathers 1726-34, the Schwenkfelders in 1815 gave 163 Reichsthaler to the people of Görlitz and in relief of their sore distress and sufferings due to the ravages of the Napoleonic war. This sixty-four page book was published by the magistrates and councils of Görlitz as a thank offering for the gift.

1819. *Oeconomisches Haus und Kunst-Buch*. Von Johann Krausz. Allentown, Heinrich Ebner.

1819. *Einige Christliche und Lehrreiche Send-Briefe*. Schwenkfeld. Allentown, Heinrich Ebner.

1820. *Von der Himmlische Arzeney*. Schwenkfeld. Allentown, Heinrich Ebner.

1820. An article on the Schwenkfelders was published in the *Amerikanische Ansichten* composed by John Schultz.

1830. *Erläuterung für Herrn Caspar Schwenckfeld*. Sumnytaun, E. Benner. (Revision of edition in 1771.)

1835. *Ein christlicher Send-Brief vom Gebet Schwenkfeld*. Allentown, A. and W. Blumer.

1836. *Compendium von Christoph Schultz, vollendet 1783*. Philadelphia, Schelly and Lescher.

1842. *Christliche Betrachtungen ueber die Evangelische Texte, Erasmus Weichenhan*. Allentown, V. und W. Blumer.

1844. A History of Religious Denominations published by I. Daniel Rupp contains an article on the Schwenkfelders by Isaac Schultz. This was republished in the Desilver History of 1859.

1846. *Lehr Tractate \* \* \* durch Casper Schwenkfeld*. Allentown, Blumer and Busch.

1851. *Constitution \* \* \* wie auch Neben-Gesetze \* \* \* von Josua Schultz*. Allentaun, Guth, Young and Trexler.

1855. *Kurze Fragen über die Christliche Glaubens-Lehre*. Skippackville, J. M. Schünemann. (Third edition of Catechism.)

1858. *Lehr und Ordnungs-Regeln.* Von Josua Schultz.  
(Date and place of publication not fully established.)

1858. *The Heavenly Balm and the Divine Physician.*  
By Casper Schwenkfeld, translated by Rev. F. R. Anspach, D.D. Baltimore, published by Abraham Heydrick.

1859. *Fünf Abhandlungen aus den Theologischen Schriften von Caspar Schwenckfeldt.* Skippackville, J. M. Schünemann & Co.

1860. *Ausführliche Geschichte Kaspar v. Schwenkfelds, und der Schwenkfelder \* \* \* von Oswald Kadelbach.* Lauban, vom M. Baumeister.

1861. *Oeffentliche Correspondenzen Zwischen Josua Schultz und Daniel Weiser, im Jahr 1858 \* \* \** Lansdale, John Schupe.

1863. *Short questions concerning the Christian Doctrine of Faith, by the Reverend Christopher Schultz.* Translated by Prof. I. Daniel Rupp. Skippackville, J. M. Schünemann.

1869. *Neueingerichtetes Gesang-Buch.* Skippackville, A. E. Dambly.

1870. *Casper Schwenkfeld and the Schwenkfelders.* C. Z. Weiser, in *Mercersburg Review*.

1874. *Schwenkfelders.* By P. E. Gibbons, in *Pennsylvania Dutch.* Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co.

1875. *Glaubens-Lehren und Bekenntnisse der zwei ersten Predigern der Schwenkfelder in Amerika.*

1876. *Pflicht der Eltern gegen ihre Kinder \* \* \* sammt Einleitung, Trauform, und Gebet.* Skippack, A. E. Dambly.

1876. *Religious Societies of the Commonwealth.* By Barclay. London.

1879. *Genealogical Record of the Descendants of the Schwenkfelders.* By the Rev. Reuben Kriebel, with an historical sketch by C. Heydrick. Manayunk, Josephus Yeakel.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



PHOTO J. F. BACHSE

SPECIMEN PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SAMPLER.

WROUGHT BY REGINA HEEBNER, 1794.





1882. *Constitution of the Schwenkfelder society as also By-Laws.* Skippack, A. E. Dambly.

1886. *Der Schwenkfelder Glaubens-Bekennntniz* \* \* \*  
*im Jahr 1718.*

1889. *Casper Schwenkfeld.* By Jesse Yeakel, in a German Quarterly.

1894. *Comite Bericht.*

1898. *Formula for the Government and Discipline of the Schwenkfelder Church.* Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co.

1898. *The Schwenkfelders.* By Howard M. Jenkins, in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner.*

1898. *Americana Germanica* published the Historische Anmerckungen and School documents of 1764.

1899. *The Schwenkfelders.* By H. Y. S. (Joseph Henry Dubbs) in *College Student.*

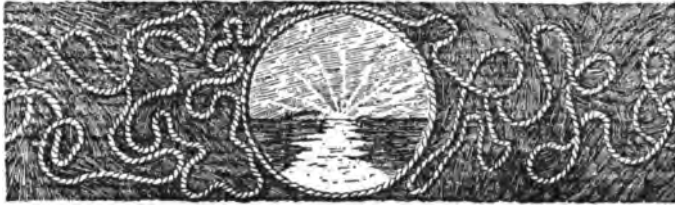
1902. *Formula for the Government and Discipline of the Schwenkfelder Church.* Revised edition. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co.

Simple justice demands in this connection a reference to the researches and labors of Ober Lehrer Heinrich August Friedrich Schneider. Born in Posen in 1806, he studied for the ministry but on account of sickness, changed his plans and became teacher of English in the Königlische Real Schule, Berlin in 1842, which place he filled until a nervous trouble compelled him to resign in 1872. His studies in theology led him to read church history and thus he came to be interested in Schwenkfeld before his student days were over. To 1875, when he sold his immense and invaluable Schwenkfeldiana, he devoted all his spare time to this line of study. He published a history of Liegnitz with reference to the Schwenkfelders and an account of early Schwenkfelder hymn writers. He had collected material for an extensive biography of Schwenkfeld. His

library was scattered by the sale of 1875, a part being bought by the Hartford Theological Seminary. To his dying day he had a warm heart for his chosen line of study and loved to talk of it.

These remarks may fittingly be brought to a close by a brief reference to the most recent, most elaborate and most exhaustive work in the line of literature relating to the Schwenkfelders. In 1884 the publication of a *Corpus Schwenkfeldianorum* was undertaken under the editorship of President C. D. Hartranft of the Hartford Theological Seminary. An edition of the works of Schwenkfeld is in preparation which aims to furnish :

1. A critical text, various readings, the original marginalia, explanatory notes and full apparatus. The notes, the preface, the prolegomena, etc., to be in the English language.
2. The chronological order of the documents without regard to encyclopædic arrangement.
3. The text, in smaller type, of all unpublished letters addressed to Schwenkfeld or Crautwald, or that make mention of them. If previously edited, references to the editions will be given in the text. The text of all acts or historical documents hitherto unpublished which refer to them, will be printed in a similar way.
4. The portraits and pictures in connection with the persons in the history, in the year of their appearance.
5. Facsimile specimens of the MSS.
6. A full bibliography of the literature.
7. Indices of persons, places and subject matter to each volume.
8. A history in English of the Reformation by the Middle Way. This is already in course of preparation. Although it is to be published after the text has appeared, it will nevertheless be numbered as the first volume of the series.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS.



ACCORDING to the official notice from the Society the assigned task in the present undertaking was "to write a paper on the Schwenkfelders especially with regard to their history in this Commonwealth." The author could, therefore, not indulge in the pleasant pastime of tracing out and singing the glories of all the lines of descent. To do so would mean at the least a search through Canada and through the northern tier of States beginning with Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland, westward through the different commonwealths to the Pacific Ocean. The descendants were and are found in all walks of life—some even having done time in prison cells. An attempt indeed was made at collating a list of prominent descendants, with a view of inserting the same in this history but for a variety of reasons this had to be abandoned. The classification of the skilled professions pursued by these would show eminent lights in callings like the following: Artisans, artists, authors, doctors, editors, inventors, judges, governor, lawyers, legislators, ministers, missionaries, manufacturers, musicians,

merchants, presiding elders, bishops, president and professors of theological seminaries, professors in colleges and seminaries, teachers, soldiers both in the ranks and as officers.

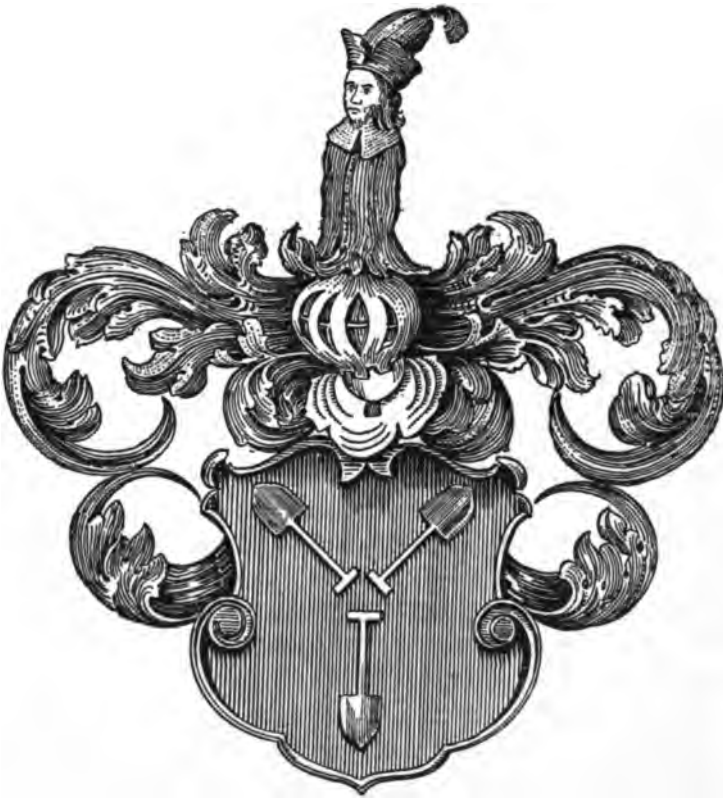
The *Genealogical Record of the Descendants of the Schwenkfelders* published in 1879, a most excellent work in itself, though not free from error and far from being exhaustive, gives in addition to the Schwenkfelder names of 1734, more than 200 patronymics brought by intermarriage into connection with the lines of Schwenkfelder descendants. The descendants of Tobias Hartranft hold family reunions where hundreds assemble each year. Of the descendants of David Wagener who wandered to the Bushkill in Northampton Co., there are hundreds in Easton alone to-day. Jemima Wilkinson the religious enthusiast and impostor, drew David Wagener, the son of Melchior, to New York, where the descendants are numerous and prominent. Settlements in various western states might also be enumerated.

With respect to church connection, descendants are found in the Catholic Church and in many branches of the Protestant church, particularly, United Brethren, Congregational, Evangelical, Lutheran, Reformed, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Mennonite and also even in the broad "Pennsylvania."

Though the present body of "Schwenkfelders" can claim scant credit for the high honors won by their distant brotherhood they may at least with them rejoice in the common pious ancestry and thank God for what He has done for the children through and on account of the parents, remembering that the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear Him, and His righteousness unto children's children.

# Appendix.

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v. Schwenckfeld.

( 205 )

## Anhang A.

*Note by Editor:—* For various obvious reasons this letter and the following marriage contract are carefully reproduced as to spelling, etc. The italicized words were written in Latin script, the rest in German.

**M**ein lieber alter Freund Sebastian! Es ist mir eine Zeit her oftmals in meinem Gemüth gewesen ich sollte dich durch Schreiben etlicher nöthiger Stücke erinnern, dieweil wir lange Zeit so viel ich weiß aufrichtige Freunde gewesen sind, damit ich meiner seits doch auch die Pflichten treuer Freundschaft erfüllen, und mich der Schuld entladen möchte derer ich mich durch Schweigen theilhaftig machen würde, und zugleich auch wo möglich dir in deinem Verrennen nützlich seyn möchte. So nihms doch auf (ohne dir weiter viel Umstände vorzumahlen) als von einem alten Freunde, was dir in folgenden Zeilen aus wehmüthigem Herzen als ein Spiegel vorgehalten wird.

Ich habe mit dir zu Reden als mit einem Mitgliede eines Hauses das den Inwohnern des ehemals freyen *Pennsylvania* Geseze giebt, und dieselben Geseze auch durch Gewalt der Waffen, Straffen, Gefängnisse, Ausschliffung aller bürgerlichen Rechte, ohne daß sie ihr Gewissen Rath fragen dürffen, den besagten Inwohnern aufzwinget wie solches nun die leztherige *Test-Acte* bezeuget, und das Verfahren gegen Unschuldige Gewissenhafte Leute nun hie bey uns ausweist. So ihr nun als *Representanten* der Einwohner *Pennsylvaniens* wollet angesehen seyn, und von wegen ihrer agiren wollet so habt ihr unumgänglich auch die Pflicht auf euch liegen, daß ihr das wahre wohl aller und jeder Classen besagter Einwohner, so gut als euer Eigenes an eurem Herzen habt, und nicht die eine Parthey durch Unterdrückung der Andern erhebet, so ferne sie es nicht durch Bosshafte Untreue oder Lasterhaftigkeit verschuldet. Da du nun gar wohl weissest daß *Pennsylv.*

## APPENDIX A.

DRAFT OF LETTER BY REVEREND CHRISTOPHER  
SCHULTZ TO SEBASTIAN LEVAN, MEMBER OF AS-  
SEMBLY, DATED, HEREFORD, AUGUST 12, 1777.

(See page 155.)

(Translation.) *My dear old friend Sébastian:* For some time it has often been in my mind that I ought in writing to remind you of a few necessary points, since for a long time we have been upright friends so far as I know in order that I on my part may fulfill the duties of true friendship and free myself of the blame of which by my silence I would make myself guilty and that at the same time if possible I may be serviceable to you in your erring conduct. Without my further detailing to you many particulars, receive therefore what is held before you mirror-like in the following lines as coming from an old friend out of a sorrowing heart.

I wish to speak with you as with a member of a House which gives laws to the citizens of a once free Pennsylvania and also without taking counsel of their consciences forces these laws upon the said inhabitants by force of arms, fines, imprisonments, exclusion from all civil rights as the recent Test-Act and the proceedings against innocent, conscientious people with us here shows. If you would be looked upon as representatives of the citizens of Pennsylvania and would act in their behalf, you inevitably have the duty resting upon you to take to heart the true welfare of each and every class of said inhabitants as well as your own and not to lift up one party through the suppression of the others in so far as they have not occasioned



vanien anfänglich das Eigenthum war (beydes in Ansehung des Landes als auch daß Rechts der Regierung) solcherer Leute, die da Gewissenhalber bedenken tragen andere Menschen zu tödten; wie auch sehr bedächtig sind, sich an Eydcs Statt in Etwas einzulassen, woran sie nicht genung gewiß wären daß sie in der Wahrheit und auch beständig dabey bleiben könnten, und da du zugleich weist daß dergl. Leute noch die Menge hie vorhanden sind, ja einen grossen theil der Ansehnlichsten, und wolgeessenen und Unbescholtenen Einwohnern ausmachen. So fragt man ja wolnothwendig wenn man eure Acten ansieheth, und zugleich fühlet wie sie applicirt werden. Habt ihr euch den wol jemals in euren Herzen an dieser Leute Statt gestellt, und ihre gewissens Angelegenheiten als eure eigne angesehen und *representirt*? Oder weisets sichs nicht vielmehr aus daß ihr sie für den nichts werthigsten Auskericht haltet, den ihr aufs äufferste untertreten, und aus dem Lande verdringen wollet? Ist nicht also, warum lieget mein Better George Kriebel in Easton Gefängniß? Und muß sich sagen lassen wenn er nicht Schwöret wie ihr wollet, so könne er eher nicht heraus kommen, als biß man die Seinen mit Verlassung aller Güter zu den Feinden überliefert? Warum beraubet ihr uns denn aller Bürgerlichen und Gewissens-Freyheiten, daß nichts mehr soll Unser seyn, nicht mehr auf Gottes-Erdboden handeln und wandeln dürfen und also gar nicht leben sollen? bloß allein weil wir bedenken was zu unser Seelen und Gemüths Ruhe und Frieden dienlich seyn möge. Weil wir sachen nicht beschwören wolten die jetzt von äußerster Ungewißheit sind ob wir werden beständig dabey bleiben können, und wir sollen uns doch darüber verschwören. Diß ist ja doch die Summa von dieser Sache, daß ihr uns hie Sachen zumuthet und bey Verlust alles was einem in der Welt lieb seyn kan aufleget, daß nie kein Tyranne ja kein Tartar noch Türcke vielweniger eine Christliche Regierung in vorigen Zeiten gefordert hat daß man nemlich unter wählender hitzigsten Kriege und vor Ausgang der Sache, einem vorigen Herren abschwören solte.

it through malicious unfaithfulness or wickedness. Since you indeed know quite well that Pennsylvania was originally the property (both in regard to the land as to the right of government) of those people who on account of scruples of conscience have misgivings against killing other people and who also consider very carefully before entering, in the place of an oath, upon a course concerning which they can not be fully assured that they can continue in the truth and steadfast in it, and as you at the same time know that of these people a large number are still here and constitute a great part of the most respectable, the well-established, and irreproachable citizens. A necessary question when one considers your acts and feels how they are applied is this:—Have you in your hearts at any time put yourself in the place of these people and viewed and represented their matters of conscience as your own? Or is it not shown that you consider them the most worthless sweepings which you wish to suppress to the utmost and crowd out of the land? If this is not the case why is my cousin George Kriebel imprisoned in the Easton jail and must let himself be told that if he does not swear the way you want him to, he can not be set free until his own are delivered to his enemies with abandonment of all his property. Why do you rob us of all civil liberty and freedom of conscience in so much that we are to hold nothing as our own, we are not allowed to trade on God's earth, or move about or even to live—merely because we take into consideration what may be helpful to the rest and peace of our souls and minds; because we are unwilling to take oath concerning things that are of the utmost uncertainty whether we can remain true to the same and yet we are to bind ourselves by oath. This is the sum of the whole matter that you expect things of us in this respect

Siehe dich doch in der Historien voriger Zeiten um du wirst nie feine dergleichen Gewissens Tyranny aufweisen können. Ist etwa wegen Spionen, Verräther oder dergleichen *Malefactors* etwas zu thun nöthig gewesen wie das *Preamble* Eurer Test Acte saget warum verwickelst ihr denn unschuldige Leute mit dieser ihrer Straffen? Oder wo ist der der uns solcher Händel mit Recht bezeichnen kan, laß ihn auftreten? Sind wir nicht immer willig gewesen unsere volle Proportion an öffentlichen Lasten zutragen soviel als mit Gewissen, nemlich ohne Rüstung zum Todschlagen seyn kan? Wie komts daß ihr nur immer *Fines* zubehalten habt, oder daß wirs unterm Littel *Fine* zu bezahlen haben was von uns gefordert wird? Seyd ihr da unsere getreue *Representanten*?

O mein lieber Freund! Ich bitte dich um Gottes willen bedende dich weils noch Zeit ist, du magst wohl jetzt denken, du bist mir ein schöner Freund, daß du mit so groben Fragen an mich kommest. Aber Aber es bleibt dir fürwahr nicht aussen, und ich wünsche deiner Seelen von Herzen daß es nicht zu spät geschehe, du wirst vor deme deme wir alle Rechenschaft geben müssen einmal theuer antworten müssen, ob du Ihme auch Die Seinen mit Unterdrückung berührt habest, die nemlich ihre Hoffnung und Vertrauen auf Ihn stellen, die sich scheuen Ihn zu beleidigen, und die sich fürchten für seinem Wort.

Ihr seyd nun auf das Militz Wesen so erpicht, als wenns der einzige Schutz wäre der uns Salviren könne, und alles andere wird mit höchster Verachtung ja Straffe angesehen. Nun du wirst dich doch auch noch erinnern können, daß wir gehöret haben, daß alles in der Hand des Höchsten stehet, und daß man sich seinem Schutz von ganzem Herzen sollte anvertrauen, denn er könne und solle Schützen alle die zu ihm fliehen, und verlassen sich nicht auf ihre Stärke. Wolan werts nun von Herzen Treu und Redlich mit seinem Lande meynet; Wohin ja wohin und zu was soll ein solcher in dieser jammerlich bedrängten Zeit fliehen oder was vor

and impose them upon us with loss of all that one holds dear in the world, things that no tyrant, nor tartar nor turk much less a Christian government in former times demanded, namely that in the midst of the hottest warfare and before the conclusion of the matter a former lord is to be denied under oath. Consider the history of former times and you will not be able to show a like tyranny over conscience. If action indeed was necessary with respect to spies, traitors or the like malefactors as the preamble of your Test Act declares, why do you implicate innocent people in their punishment? Or where is he who can justly accuse us of such things? let him step forth. Have we not always been willing to bear our full proportion of the public burdens as far as might be done conscientiously, that is without preparation for manslaughter. Why is it that you are continually speaking of fines or, that what is demanded of us must be paid under the name fine? Are you here our true representatives?

O my dear friend! I beseech you for God's sake, consider while it is yet time. You may indeed now think, you are a nice friend that you come to me with such uncivil questions. But, but you will indeed not escape, and I heartily wish for the sake of your soul that it may not be too late, that you will have to answer dearly before him before whom we must all render account, whether you have oppressed God's own who place their hope and trust in Him, who are afraid to offend Him and who fear his word.

You are now so passionately attached to the militia system, as if it were the only protection that could save us and all else is looked down upon with the highest contempt and even punishment. You can doubtless still recall that we have heard that all things are in the hands of

Rüstung soll er am fördersten gebrauchen und sich drein einfleiden oder wie thut er am besten *exerciren*.

Mein lieber Freund! Stelle dir's doch einmal eine viertel Stunde also vor; Du sähest einem in seinem verborgenen Winkel liegen vor seinem Gott mit heissen Thränen sein und seines Volkes Sünden den grossen Herrscher beichten und bekennen und um des einiges Versöhners und Mittlers willen vor das Land um Barmherzigkeit und Verschonen flehen, ja um die Erneuerung und Besserung der Herzen aller Inwohner der auch aus dem Gefühl der mitleidenden Liebe, da Gott alle Menschen liebet, ihnen Leben und Odem giebet, keinem Neben - Menschen das Leben nehmen wolte. Du sähest aber auf der andern Seite einen unseren gewöhnlichen Militz-Pütschen er sey Officier oder Gemeiner in seiner ordinairn Positur wie die meisten sich aufziehen und seine Militärischen Geschäfte ausrichten, wie weit unsere Milizen reichen; da möchte ich denn gerne deines Gewissens urtheil hören, welches von diesen beyden der beste Landes - Beschützer sey? Ich urtheile jener thut so viel zum wahren Schutz als von diesen eine ganze Bataillon nicht ausrichtet, und wer weiß ob dies nicht anklopfet daß du mir schier recht geben soltest? Und mir ist's als wenn ich dir sagen dorffte ohne daß du gar viel an der Wahrheit zweifeltest solcher Art Landesbeschützer giebt's noch in unserm armen Pennsylvanien die mit ihrem *exerciren* zwar kein Wesen noch Aufsehens machen die aber eigentlich der Höchste in seiner Rolle hat und ihm wolbekannt sind, daß sie zu seinem Heerlager gehören, der zählet ihre Thränen und fasset sie in sein Saß.

O hüte dich mein lieber Sebastian, hüte dich, daß du keinem von diesen Landes-Vätern und Streittern des Herren einiges Uebel zufügest, wie ich leyder Vermuthe daß mit etlichen eurer lezttheriger Acten geschehen ist, wer gegen sie angehet hats mit ihren Herren zu thun. Denn ich muß mein Vermuthen nicht verhalten daß nemlich dieser Vortrefflichen Art Leute, mehr auf der Seite zu finden sind die eure Acten und Straffen belegen, weder auf der Seite so

the Highest and that one ought to entrust himself wholly into His care, since he can and will protect all who flee to him and do not depend on their own strength.

Now then, whoever holds true and honest intentions concerning his country, whither, yea, whither, and to what shall such a one flee in the present pitiable, distressful times or with what armor shall he shield or clothe himself or what is the best way of "exercising" for him? My dear friend, imagine for a quarter of an hour the matter in this way; you see one lying in his secret chamber before his God with hot tears confessing and acknowledging the sins of himself and his people to the great ruler and pleading for mercy and forbearance in behalf of his land through the only atoner and mediator, yea, for the renewal and betterment of the hearts of all inhabitants and who out of the feelings of compassionate love because? God loves all men and gives them life and breath, would not take the life of any fellowman. On the other side you see one of our ordinary militia fellows, be he officer or private, in his ordinary posture as the most of them pose and performing his military services as far as our militia reach. I should like to hear the judgment of your conscience which of the two is the best protector of his country? I judge the former does more for true protection than a whole battalion of the latter can accomplish and who knows but that this appeals to you that you must admit that I am right. And I feel that I may say to you without your seriously doubting the truth of it that of this class of defenders of the country some are still to be found in our poor Pennsylvania who indeed make no ado or sensation with their "exercising" but whom the highest has in books and who are well-known as belonging to his army, who also counts their tears and puts them into his bottle.

der Drommel folgen. Ich sage mehr, dabey ich den Leßtern ihren Antheil nicht abstreiche. Ich will nur sagen ein wahrer Representant des Landes hat sich von Gott und Gewissens ja Recht und Billigkeit wegen derer Einwohner die Gewissenshalbe in allerley Thätlichkeiten nicht eingehen so treu und sorgfältig anzunehmen sowol als derer andern; und die Gewissens-Freyheit ist ihnen auch durch öffentliche Acta und Pacta so Eigenthümlich, daß sie ihnen nicht kan entwendt werden ohne den schändesten Raub zu begehen.

Eine freywillige Militz lasse ich in ihrem gehörigen Werthe, als auch von Leuten deren Anliegen gehört estimirt und representirt zu werden, aber das bißherige betreiben des Militz Wesens ist leyder mehr eine Quelle unversönlichen Hasses, Meydes und schädlicher uneinigkeit gewesen weder daß es unsere Umstände gebessert hätte, und hat zugleich das Land in gar Ungeheure Schulden gereumet; ja wie ich finde so ist es die Verhinderung daß eine stehende Armee nicht hinlänglich hat mögen zustande gebracht werden können. Wobon ein jeder Vernünftiger von Anfang leicht hat sehen können, daß wo Krieg geführt werden muß, so kan nur durch diese nicht aber durch die Militz etwas namhafftes ausgeführt werden, und da hätten auch alle Einwohner Süßsch gleich Antheil und ohne vortwurff tragen können. Aber das innerliche Verderben unter uns selbst sollte uns freffen. Da ist dieses ein geschickt Instrument dazu. Da nimmt man einem mit Troß und Gewalt £25 sammt Unkosten so viel als man will und giebt's Einem der vor 8 Wochen Dienst annehmen will und giebt ihm noch £5 beyseits. Wo werden nun die Thoren zu finden seyn die für 20 Thaler auf 3 Jahr Dienst nehmen da einem bey solchem Militz betreiben in einem Jahr £150 werden können? Wenn solch Ding dem Lande nicht Ruin bringet, so weiß ich nicht was es nicht ertragen könnte. Allein diese Treiber verlassen sich darauf daß die guten Leute nicht wieder sechten werden und fahren hoch her. Aber der Höchste wird sie schon wissen zu finden.

Von der Test-Acte weisets nun hie die Erfahrung und das Ge-

O, guard yourself, my dear Sebastian, guard yourself that you may not cause any sorrow to any of these fathers of the land and warriors of the Lord as I, alas, surmise has happened through several of your recent acts — whoever assails them must reckon with their Lord. For I must not withhold my suspicion, namely, that of this excellent class of people more are to be found on the side of those who condemn your acts than on the side of those who follow the drum. I say more in order that I may not deprive the latter of their share. I will merely say that a true representative of the land must espouse before God and conscience, yea for the sake of right and propriety the cause of those inhabitants who on account of scruples of conscience do not enter into all the activities as honestly and carefully as that of the others, and freedom of conscience is theirs so specifically by public acts and agreements that they can not be deprived of it without the most iniquitous robbery.

To a voluntary militia I will concede its proper value as being also of people whose solicitude deserves to be esteemed and represented. The management of the militia hitherto prevailing has, alas, been a source of irreconcilable hatred, envy and injurious discord much more than a cause of improvement of our condition and at the same time has cast the land into enormous debts and as I learn it has been the hindrance that a standing army could not be adequately established. Any person of reason could easily foresee from the beginning that where war must be carried on, telling work can only be accomplished by these but not through the militia and here happily all citizens could without offence have taken part. But internal destruction amongst ourselves was to devour us and this has become a fitting instrument thereto. Twenty-five pounds



fühlt daß dadurch aller Bosheit, Frevel, Raub und Muthwillen Thür und Thor angeln weit aufgethan ist, solchen an den stillen unschuldigen gewissenhaften Leuten ohne Scheu und Scham in diesem unserm Werthen Lande auszuüben, ja etliche der Vorsteher der Gesetzen laden die ihres gleichen Sinnes zum Unrecht sind wol öffentlich dazu ein, Gott Erbarme es und Steure doch den Frevel! Soll nicht die Obrigkeit Gottes Statt hie Vertretten der an der Tugend einen Wolgefallen und an aller Untugend einen Greuel hat? Ja ist sie nicht zum Schutz der Frommen und zur Straffe der Bösen eingesetzt? Solches wird er dereinst in aller Strenge von ihren Seelen fordern, der da aller Welt Richter ist in Gerechtigkeit.

Keine Frechholder sind wir nicht mehr; Für keine Zeugen lassen sie uns nicht mehr gelten; von unserm Lande sollen wir nicht schreiten bis man uns zum Holze oder in die Wilde See jaget; Ein jeder mag uns schlagen, geißeln, verhöhnen, tractiren wie der Satan es ihm eingeben kan so finden wir bey jetziger Obrigkeit keine Hülffe noch Schutz anders als daß sie uns in sicheres Gefängniß steckt daselbst zu verschmachten. Und das alles darum daß wir durch einen öffentlichen Eyd, oder an Eydes Statt das nicht versprechen oder beschwören wollen, was wir nicht wissen können ob wirs möglich werden halten können, und also ohne Gewissens Befleckung nicht geschehen kan.

O überdencke doch diese Sachen und mercke um Gottes willen was ihr gemacht habt, und änderts ehe die Hand des Höchsten euch erhaschet und ohne Scheuen drein schlagen thut. Ob ich nun gleich um das meinige käme so wolte ich doch nicht um 10 deiner kostbaren Estaten meine Hand in diesen ungerechten Gändeln haben. Ich gehe Morgen nach Philadelphia um zu sehen ob diesen Unrath von dort aus nicht kan Einhalt geschehen, denn so können wir nicht leben. Inzwischen habe ich dich noch einst solch gestalt erinnern wollen denkest du ich wäre in etwa unrecht dran, so weise mich doch auch in freundschaft des bessern an, ich werde es in aller Liebe an-

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



GROUP OF SCHWENKFELDER NONOGENARIANS.

SAMUEL YEAKEL.  
1798-1887.  
GEORGE ANDERS.  
1798-1890.  
MRS. SARAH ALTHOUSE.  
1811-1903.

JOHN KRAUSS.  
1813-1903.

MRS. REGINA NEWMAN.  
1798-1889.  
DAVID HEEBNER.  
1810-1890.  
GEORGE SCHULTZ.  
1801-1895.

CHRISTOPHER YEAKEL.  
1784-1874.

MRS. CHRISTINA KRAUSS.  
1787-1877  
MRS. SUSANNA STAHL.  
1807-1899  
SAMUEL KRAUSS.  
1807.



with expenses are by force and violence taken from one and given to another who will accept eight weeks' service with an additional bounty of five pounds. Where may the fools be found who would accept twenty dollars on three years' service when by such military economy £150 may be had in a year? If such things will not bring ruin to our country, I do not know what it may not endure. These inciters count on it that the good people of the land will not fight against them, but the Highest will know how to punish them.

Concerning the Test Act, experience and sentiment show that by it door and gate are opened wide to all manner of vanity, robbery, iniquity and mischief to carry out the same on quiet, innocent, conscientious people without fear or shame in this our worthy land, yea, several of the executives of the laws publicly encourage in such conduct those who with them are equally inclined to wrong-doing. May God have mercy and restrain the iniquity. Shall not the government here take the place of God to whom virtue is well-pleasing and all vice an abomination. Yea, is it not established to protect the good and to punish the evil? For this their souls will be called to account at the great day in all strictness by him who is the judge of the whole world in righteousness.

We are freeholders no more; as witnesses we are accepted no more; we are not to step from our own land lest we be driven to Howe or into the wild sea; Every one may beat, scourge, deride, abuse us as Satan can inspire him and we shall receive from the present government no help nor protection other than that we are placed in secure imprisonment there to languish. And all this because we will not by public oath or its substitute promise or vow that which we do not know whether we are able to fulfill and

nehmen, der ich noch verharre, dein Liebe schuldiger Freund und  
wolwünscher. Heresford d. 12. Aug. 1777.

**G h r. S c h n i t z.**

P. S. Wenn du gerne wilt so sende mir mit dem Ueber-  
bringer dieses David Meschter meine zwei Büchlein wieder die ich  
dir einmal Lehnens Weise brachte; da wir noch freye Leute wa-  
ren; Aber nach den jetzigen Rechten darff ich dir sie nicht wieder-  
fordern. Sey von mir samt deinem Weibe herzlich gegrüßet  
Wale.



hence can not be done without pollution of conscience. O, consider these things and for God's sake reflect what you have done and change it before the hand of the Highest overtakes you and fearlessly punishes you. Were I even to lose my own, I would not for ten such rich estates as yours be partaker in these unrighteous actions. To-morrow I shall go to Philadelphia to see whether from that quarter restraint of this iniquity may be had for thus we can not live. In the meantime I wished in this way to call your attention to these things. If you think I have erred in any respect in friendliness show me what is better and I shall accept it in love.

I remain

your friend and well wisher

CHR. SCHULTZ.

Hereford, Aug. 12, 1777.

P. S. If it be agreeable to you, send with the messenger who delivers this, David Meschter, my two books again which I brought you at one time by way of a loan when we were still free people, but according to present rights I may not ask them again of you. Hearty greetings to you and your wife. Vale.



## Anhang B.

Von der Befragung, so die Haus-Väter nöthig achten, an diejenige zu thun, so die Trauungen unter uns begehren geleistet zu haben.

Der Herr lasse es ihm wohlgefallen, und zu seiner Ehr gereichen.

Nachdem unsere Vorfahren und Eltern, so Schwendfelder genannt, in Deutschland, sich mit keiner Parthey in der Lehre haben können vergleichen noch vereinigen, und also wegen derselbigen vieles Ungemach erleiden und erdulden müssen, die Lehr auch nicht öffentlich pflegen dürfften, und ihnen endlich gar kein Zuflucht-Ort mehr zugelassen wurde. So entschlossen sie sich, hierenach nach Pennsylvanien (auf Nachricht der Gewissens-Freyheit allhier) zu gehen, welches sie Anno 1734 gethan. Und weilien die Lehre dazu sie sich, und auch wir uns noch bekennen, das einzige Haupt-Stück ist, was uns von andern Völkern unterscheidet, und also uns hie-mit zu einem besondern (oder von andern abgethiedenem) Volke macht: So gebühret uns daß wir Haus-Väter, jeztund noch (wie damahls unsere Vorfahren) uns bey allen angelegentlichen Vorfällen (also auch bey dem Vorfall der Trauung) die Lehr niemahls solten aus unserm Haupt-Gemerde kommen lassen. 1. Um dieser bißher noch so ädlen und zur Lehr-Uebung dienenden Gewissens-Freyheit wegen, nach welcher wir auch berechtigt sind, die Ehe-Vollziehung unter uns selbst zu thun. 2. Um Gottes Ehre willen, die durch reine Lehr soll gefördert werden. 3. Um unserer Erbauung. 4. Um dieselbe bey unsern Nachkommen aufrecht zu erhalten, als auch ihnen zu einem guten Exempel. Um 5 auch um Gottes wegen, da er wol ein solches von uns erwarten mag, daß wir die Lehre gemeinschafftll. als auch daheim für sich fleißig übten und damit vor jedermänniglich beweisen, daß es uns auch was sonder-

## APPENDIX B.

MARRIAGE CONTRACT, OCTOBER 1779. (See page 73.)

(Translation). Account and statement of the examination which the housefathers regard necessary to be held of those who make request to have the marriage ceremony performed among us.

May it be well-pleasing to the Lord and redound to his honor.

Our forefathers and parents in Germany called Schwenkfelders could reconcile and unite themselves in doctrine with no party and in consequence had with respect to the same to endure and suffer much inconvenience, could not publicly foster their doctrines and finally were even not allowed a place of refuge. They, therefore, resolved (on hearing of freedom of conscience here) to migrate to Pennsylvania which they did in the year 1734. And since the doctrine which they confessed as we yet do is the only principal article which differentiates us from other people and thus makes us a people, distinct or separate from others, it is becoming that we housefathers even now yet (as our forefathers then) should in all important events (as also in the case of marriage) permit doctrine at no time to cease to be our distinguishing mark.

1. On account of the liberty of conscience hitherto prevailing, so precious and serviceable to the culture of doctrine, according to which we are also permitted to perform the marriage ceremony among ourselves.

2. On account of the glory of God which is to be advanced by pure doctrine.

3. On account of our own edification.



bares und angelegenes sey, derentwegen von andern Böldern unterschieden zu sehn. Daher man sich verpflichtet befunden, und noch befindet, diejenigen so die Trauung bey uns begehrt geleistet zu haben, und fernerhin begehren möchten, sie nicht so platt, abzuweisen, um sie auch hiemit nicht von der Lehre weg zu lenken, noch uns selbst schämlich vor Gott und Menschen darzustellen, als nicht achtende auf Lehre und zusammen dienen daher haben wir es für nöthig geachtet, daß wir sie in Kürze, auf folgende zwey Fragen ersuchten und außs Gemercke der Lehr leiteten, und zwar vornehmlich den Bräutigam wie folgt. 1. Ob er sich auch wol bedacht, geprüft und untersucht habe, daß es ihm um Gottes Ehre und der eigenen Seyls wegen um unsere Lehre zu thun sey (die ihm doch nun nicht unbekannt seyn werde) und daß er solche aus eigenem untersuchen und Begriffe für richtig halte, und folglich aus frehem Willen, und ungezwungenem Gemüthe sich an solche anschließen und zustimmen könne, so daß er sich, vor sich selbst und die Seinen derselben nach Gottes verleyen ins künfftige treulich halten und dieselbe mit sammt den andern wolle helfen pflegen und unterstützen? Und ob seine verlobte auch eigentlich eines solchen Willens sey?

Und weil nach den Landes-Gesetzen, eine vorgesetzte Person, die Trauungen verrichten muß, und wir aber keine haben; Ob er 2 sich auch zu dem entschließen könnte, wenn künfftig hin, ein und anderer, auch in dergleichen Angelegenheiten wie er gegenwärtig, möchte kommen und ein solches unter uns und von uns, beehrte ihm gemeinschaftlich mit den andern wolle suchen durch zu helfen, und einen Hauß-Vater helfen anstimmen, dem es übergeben würde, die Trauung zu thun?

Wenn denn einfältig und treulich auf diese zwey Fragen gewilliget und zugestimmt worden, so hat mans für billig geachtet, einem solchen zu willfahren, dabey man das beste gehoffet, indem man niemanden ins Gerthe sehn kan. Hierauf hat man noch für nützlich gehalten ihnen anzurathen (wie auch von Alters her bey

4. To maintain the same among our posterity and to give them a good example.

5. For God's sake also who may indeed expect of us that we shall both jointly and also privately at home cultivate the same and thus show before every one that it is to us a serious and notable matter to be in this regard a people separate from others.

Wherefore, we have found ourselves obligated both in the past and the present with regard to those who desire to have the marriage ceremony performed among us, and in the future may desire, not to turn these so flatly aside and thus direct them away from the doctrine and also show ourselves to our shame before God and man as not regarding our doctrine and not working together.

We have, therefore, regarded it necessary by the following two questions to appeal to them and in particular to the groom and direct their attention to doctrine as a distinguishing mark. 1. Whether he had carefully reflected, weighed and examined himself that he earnestly took to heart the glory of God, his own salvation and our own doctrine (that would indeed not be unknown to him) and that as a result of his own investigation and understanding he regards the same as correct and hence of his free will and unconstrained mind can attach himself and give assent to the same so that he for himself and his own by God's grace will in the future help to cultivate and support the same? And whether his betrothed for herself also gives assent to the same?

And since by the laws of the country an appointed person must perform the ceremony and we have none. 2. If in the future some one or other under circumstances similar to his own should come and request the same of and by us whether he could assent to this, that he would in com-

Christen-Volcke geschehen) daß die Braut-Leute, von dem der sie trauen sollte, sich vorher noch von ihm aus Christlicher Lehr lassen befragen und unterrichten. Zu welchem, so bißher nach obigem Innhalt eingewilliget, auch hierzu, wie billig, alle verstanden haben. Welche aber bißher der Pfllegung der Lehr nicht begewohnt, und gleichwol solchen Dienst zu leisten von uns begehret, da haben sich die Hauß-Väter, den Bräutigam was mehr zu befragen verpflichtet befunden um zu erfahren wie es um seine Angelegenheit zur Lehr stehet. Wer sich nun aber bey seiner bevorstehenden Träuung zu obiger Befragung nicht verstehen kan, da können wir uns auch nach Landes-Gesetzen und Christlicher Verfassung nicht befugt achten uns mit ihm zu solchem wichtigen öffentlichen Handel einzulassen.

Solches bezeugen die Hauß-Väter sowol alte als junge, mit ihrer eigenen Hand.

Christoph Schulz.  
 Christoph Zädel.  
 George Wigner.  
 Johan Zädel.  
 Melchior Schulz.  
 Christoph Kriebel.  
 Christoph Hoffman.  
 Melchior Kriebel, jun.  
 David Kriebel.  
 Abraham Drescher.  
 Abraham Zädel.  
 Abraham Kriebel.  
 Hans Christoph Gübner.  
 George Kriebel.  
 George Anders.  
 George Heydrich.  
 George Kriebel.  
 Christoph Meischter.  
 Melchior Zädel.  
 Abraham Schulz.  
 Balger Kraus.

Georg Zädel.  
 Christopher Schulz, jun.  
 Casper Zädel.  
 Jacob Zädel.  
 Gregorius Schulz.  
 Matthäs Gerhardt.  
 Jeremias Zädel.  
 Andreas Schulz.  
 George Drescher.  
 David Schulz.  
 Balger Schulz.  
 George Schulz.  
 Andreas Kriebel.  
 Abraham Kriebel.  
 Jeremias Kriebel.  
 Christoph Zädel Küffer.  
 Melchior Schubert Kiefer.  
 Abraham Heirich.  
 Christoph Meischter.  
 David Schulz.

mon with the others befriend such a one and help to select a housefather to whom the performance of the marriage ceremony might be entrusted.

These two questions having been sincerely and honestly agreed and assented to, it was deemed in place to accede to the request of such a one in hope for the best since no one can see into the heart. Hereupon it was also considered salutary to advice them (as was the custom among Christian people in earlier times) that those engaged to be married should beforehand be catechized and instructed by the one who was to marry them. To the foregoing hitherto approved as given above all have appropriately given assent. In case of those who did not hitherto support our doctrines and who yet made request to have such service rendered by us, the housefathers found themselves under obligation to question the groom somewhat more fully to determine how much he was concerned about our doctrine. If any one can, however, not consent to the above questions in the matter of his approaching marriage we can not consider ourselves authorized by the laws of the Land and Christian organization to enter upon such an important public act with him.

The housefathers both old and young bear testimony to the above in their own handwriting.



# INDEX.

- A**CT, the Test, 154-156, 207-219.  
 Allegiance to Penn'a, Pledge of, 35, 140.  
 Althouse, Daniel, 48.  
 Altona, 31, 32.  
 Amsterdam, 25, 32.  
 Anders, Abraham, 49.  
 Anders, Ellwood, 49.  
 Anders, George (1), 128.  
 Anders, George (2), 48, 128, 129, 158, 224.  
 Andrew, Saint, the ship, 32, 33, 103.  
 Anhalt-Cöthen, 30.  
 Anspach, F. R., 200.  
 Antes, Henry, 43, 109, 110, 112, 114.  
 Armenruh, 20.  
 Augsburg, 5.  
 Augsburg Confession, 17.  
 Austerity, 31, 56.  
 Atlantic Ocean, 33, 34.
- BAPTISM**, 11, 28, 118.  
 Baus, Christopher, 103, 105.  
 Bechtel, John, 109.  
 Becker, Jost, 109.  
 Benezet, Anthony, 190.  
 Benezet, John, 44.  
 Benzel, George, 109.  
 Berthelsdorf, 26-28, 31, 103.  
 Bertolet, John, 109.  
 Beyer, Abraham, 43, 172.  
 Beyer, Andrew, 49, 172.  
 Bibighaus, 173.  
 Bible, 9.  
 Bibliography, 183-202.  
 Boehme, Jacob, 57, 185.  
 Böhler, Peter, 111.  
 Bönisch, George, 40, 103-106, 112.  
 Bohemia, 2, 17.  
 Books, (see Literature).  
 Bossens, William, 109.  
 Brandenburg, 29.  
 Brethren of the Skippack, Associated, 42, 57, 109, 110, 112.  
 Brey, Abraham, 47.  
 Bryan, George, 157.  
 Bugenhagen, 3.  
 Business, Church, Method of conducting, 94.  
 Byuschanse Brothers, 32, 33.
- CALVERT**, George, 37.  
 Carl of Münsterberg, 2.  
 Cassel, Abraham H., 158.  
 Cassel, David M., 48.  
 Catechism, (see Religious Instruction).  
 Catholic (see Jesuit Mission), 1, 21, 23.  
 Charity Fund, 33, 88, 101, 171.  
 Charles VI., 21, 23, 24, 38.  
 Charlotte, Queen of England, 190.  
 Children, Instruction of, (see Education).  
 Children, Consecration of, 161.  
 Christian Endeavor Societies, 102.  
 Church, 10, 81.  
 Citizens, Rights and Duties of, 139, 172.  
 Clothing, Regulations concerning, 95, 172.  
 Community, Efforts to establish a Schwenkfelder, 30, 40.  
 Conestoga, 105, 107.  
 Cologne, 1.  
 Conferences, General, 94, 95.  
 Conference of 1762, 64.  
 Constitution of 1782.  
 Adoption of, 71-79.  
 Life under, 80-102.  
 Editions of, 80.  
 Conversion, 3, 8, 10.  
 Cranz, 104.  
 Crautwald, 4.  
 Cressman, Frederick, 45.
- DAVIS**, John, 129.  
 DeBenneville, 52.  
 Depreciation of Money, 131.  
 Deputies to Vienna, 82-84.

Derstine, Henry, 48.  
 Diaconate, The, 86, 87.  
 Dippel, 130.  
 Discipline, 92.  
 Doctrine, 7, 72, 113, 119, 130, 183, 185, 221.  
 Doerbaum, John, 129.  
 Dorn, Melchoir, 25.  
 Dotterer, Henry S., 192.  
 Dresden, 29, 31.  
 Dresher, Abraham, 222.  
 Dresher, Christopher, 45, 48, 144.  
 Dresher George (1), 38, 42.  
 Dresher, George (2), 222.  
 Dunkers, 150.

**ECKSTEIN**, John, 106, 110, 113.  
 Edelman, 130.  
 Education, Religious, 18, 58, 61, 64, 66, 73, 76, 81, 85, 91, 95, 98, 102, 113, 121, 123, 134, 137, 162-167, 171-179, 187, 188.  
 Education, Secular, 120-138, 162.  
 Elbe River, 32.  
 Eschenbach, 111.  
 Eucharist, (see Lord's Supper).  
 Evans, Cadwallader, 41.

**FAITH**, 10.  
 Falckner Swamp, 41, 42, 107, 114, 143, 156.  
 Farm Life, 174-176.  
 Fauth, John Jacob, 42.  
 Ferdinand, King, 4.  
 Fetterman, Leon, 47.  
 Flinn, Edmund, 88.  
 Fogelsville, 42.  
 Forbearance, 13.  
 Forgiveness, 9.  
 Formula of Government, 80.  
 Frankfurt, 1.  
 Frederick Augustus I, 26.  
 Frederick Augustus II, 26.  
 Frederick the Great, 25, 53.  
 Frederick township, 109.  
 Frell, George, 194.  
 Freed, William, 49.  
 Frey, Andreas, 109.  
 Frey, Henry, 109.  
 Frey, William, 109.  
 Fresenius, 31, 108.  
 Friedersdorf, 25.  
 Friedrich II., 2-4.

Friendly Association, 144-148.  
 Friends, 36, 150, (see Friendly Association, Pemberton).  
 Funeral Customs, 180-182.

**GEDÄCHTNISSTAG** (see Memorial Day).  
 Georgia, 30, 104, 106, 114.  
 Gerhard, John, 48.  
 Gerhard, Matthias, 222.  
 Germantown, 109.  
 Glatz, 17.  
 Gmelen, Matthias, 109.  
 Görlitz, 25, 26, 199.  
 Goshenhoppen, 40, 62, 141.  
 Graeme, Thomas, 140.  
 Gwynedd, 56.

**HAAG**, Andrew, 128.  
 Haagen, Jacob, 190.  
 Haarlem, 32, 33.  
 Hänisch, 29.  
 Haltzman, John, 48.  
 Hamburg, 29, 31.  
 Hamilton Tract, 45.  
 Hanover, Upper, 56.  
 Harpersdorf 20, 186, 192.  
 Hartranft, Chester D., 16, 47, 202.  
 Hartranft, Tobias, 38, 204.  
 Hausväter, 62, 63, 66, 94.  
 Heckler, Israel, 48.  
 Heebner, Balzer, 173.  
 Heebner, Christopher, 45, 49.  
 Heebner, David, 42, 45, 49, 71.  
 Heebner, George, 43, 45, 48, 114, 148.  
 Heebner, Hans, 43.  
 Heebner, Hans Christopher, 49, 68, 128, 222.  
 Heebner, H. H., 49.  
 Heebner, Jacob, 40.  
 Heebner, Dr. Melchior, 39, 42, 43, 57.  
 Heebner, Wayne, 49.  
 Heintze Correspondence, 45, 68, 184, 191.  
 Hereford, 143.  
 Herrnhut, 25, 26.  
 Heydrick, Abraham, 48, 158, 200, 224.  
 Heydrick, Balzer, 42, 158.  
 Heydrick, Casper, 41.

- Heydrick, Hon. Christopher, 23  
 200.  
 Heydrick, George, 41, 48, 128, 158,  
 224.  
 Heydrick, Mrs. George, 162.  
 Hiestand, Nathaniel, 47.  
 Hiller, Michael, 18, 178.  
 Hockenau, 20.  
 Höfel, 20.  
 Hoffman, Balzer, 20, 22, 23, 24, 31,  
 38, 40, 41, 56, 58, 62, 63, 68, 69,  
 71, 116, 120, 165, 178, 188, 195, 196.  
 Hoffman, Christopher (1), 22.  
 Hoffman, Christopher (2), 48, 68,  
 128, 131, 172, 186, 193, 198, 222.  
 Hoffman, George, 41.  
 Hoffman, Ursula, 38.  
 Hoffrichter, Balzer, 22.  
 Hohburg, 178, 194.  
 Holland, 17.  
 Holstein, Henry, 109.  
 Homelife, 170.  
 Hosensack Academy, 86, 134-136,  
 162, 165, 171.  
 Huss, 1.  
 Hymn-book Published, 68.  
  
**I**NCORPORATION, 87.  
     Indian Troubles, 140-148.  
 Isenberg, 29.  
 Italy, 17.  
  
**J**ACOB V. SALZA, 2.  
     Jenkins, H. M., 201.  
 Jesuit Mission, 21-24, 28.  
 Jesus Christ, 8, 9.  
 John, Martin, Jr., 18.  
 Johnson, R. E. S., 85.  
 Jonas, Justus, 3.  
  
**K**ADELBACH, 200.  
     Kelpius, 191.  
 Kinsey, John, 140.  
 Koken, John, 109.  
 Krauss, Balzer (1), 42, 45, 47, 58, 131.  
 Krauss, Balzer (2), 224.  
 Krauss, Christopher, 43, 48, 68, 128,  
 131, 145.  
 Krauss, John, 135, 199.  
 Krauss, Levi, 42, 47.  
 Kriebel, Abraham (1), 48, 128, 158,  
 222.  
 Kriebel, Abraham (2), 222.  
 Kriebel, Abraham H., 49.  
 Kriebel, Abraham K., 48.  
 Kriebel, Allen K., 48.  
 Kriebel, Andrew, 222.  
 Kriebel, Casper, 41, 68, 115, 128,  
 129, 144, 145, 196.  
 Kriebel, Christopher (1), 38, 41.  
 Kriebel, Christopher (2), 48, 64, 99,  
 100, 128, 163, 164, 180, 193, 195,  
 196, 222.  
 Kriebel, David, 49, 222.  
 Kriebel, George (1), 45, 47, 68, 100,  
 128, 129, 131, 136, 147, 155, 156,  
 159, 162, 209, 224.  
 Kriebel, George (2), 222.  
 Kriebel, Isaac, 48.  
 Kriebel, Jeremiah, 224.  
 Kriebel, Melchior (1), 41, 49, 71,  
 105, 107, 128.  
 Kriebel, Melchior (2), 222.  
 Kriebel, O. S., 85, 138.  
 Kriebel, Reuben, 200.  
  
**L**ADIES' Aid Societies, 102.  
     Landis, Elias, 48.  
 Langneundorf, 20.  
 Laubgrund, 20.  
 Lauterseifen, 20.  
 Leade, Jane, 39, 57, 185.  
 Leidich, John Philip, 45.  
 Levan, Sebastian, 155, 207.  
 Lewis, Peter, 48.  
 Liberty, 11, 14, 23, 30, 31, 55, 77,  
 113, 117, 148, 152, 209.  
 Liegnitz, 1, 3, 4.  
 Life, Private, 20, 56, 61, 93, 97, 108,  
 168-182.  
 Literary Fund, 90.  
 Literature (see Board of Publica-  
 tion), 15, 19, 23, 29, 31, 34, 37, 47,  
 56, 65, 67, 68, 70, 73, 80, 84, 89,  
 90, 95, 97, 102, 133, 142, 147, 164-  
 166, 183-202.  
 Lukens, Joseph, 144.  
 Lukewarmness, 20, 60, 62, 63, 64,  
 72, 81.  
 Lusatia, Upper, 260.  
 Luther, 3, 4.  
 Lutherans, 4, 22.  
  
**M**ACK, John, 144.  
     Mackinet, Blasius, 109.  
 Macungie, 42, 56, 62, 140.



Magdeburg, 31, 32.  
 Marckel, Barbara, 24.  
 Marriage, 62, 69, 70, 91, 167-169, 189, 219-224.  
 Matthews, Edward, 83.  
 Mechling, Samuel, 45.  
 Meetinghouses, 82.  
 Membership, 80-82, 94.  
 Memorial Day, 36, 62, 63, 69, 98, 148, 156.  
 Mennonites, 24, 29, 32.  
 Mentzel, George, 24.  
 Merkel, George, 109.  
 Meschter, Christopher (1), 38, 224.  
 Meschter, Christopher (2), 224.  
 Meschter, David, 42, 43, 47, 146, 219.  
 Meschter, Gregorius, 47.  
 Meschter, Melchior, 49.  
 Methacton, 109.  
 Metz, Sam, 49.  
 Migration, 21, 29, 34, 39.  
 Milan, Johannea, 21.  
 Ministry, 84-86, 88, 101.  
 Missions, 89, 102.  
 Molter, 111.  
 Moravia, 17.  
 Moravians, (see Spangenberg, Zinzendorf, Nitschman, Georgia), 59.  
 Morris, Robert Hunter, 148.  
 Moyer, Abraham, 51.  
 Muhlenberg, 55, 57, 191.

### NAMES applied to Schwenkfeld, 5.

Neander, 21.  
 Neisser, George, 106, 109.  
 Newman, Christopher, 45, 128, 168.  
 Newman, Rosina, 168.  
 Newman, David, 49, 128.  
 Newmooners, 107.  
 Nitschke, 47.  
 Nitschman, Anna, 111.  
 Nitschman, Bishop, 104, 105, 110, 113.  
 Non-militants, 150, 152, 158, 160, 207-219.  
 Nuremberg, 5.  
 Nuremberg Truce of, 17.

OCCUPATIONS, 20, 27, 52, 174.  
 Ecolampadius, 4.  
 Oglethorpe, 104.

Oley, 107, 109, 114.  
 Organization, 14, 20, 55-70, 71, 81.  
 Orwig, W. W., 191.

PAUPANHOAL, 147.  
 Pemberton, Israel, 147, 190.  
 Penn, William, 37.  
 Penn, Thomas, 104.  
 Pennypacker, Hon. S. W., 36, 185, 188.  
 Perkasie Manor, 41.  
 Perkiomen Seminary, 101, 138.  
 Persecution (see Jesuit Mission, Zinzendorf), 3, 5, 18.  
 Philadelphia, 36.  
 Pioneer life, 50-54.  
 Pirna, 31.  
 Plymouth, 32.  
 Podiebrad, King, 2.  
 Poland, King of, 29.  
 Poor, (see Charity Fund).  
 Pott, William, 109.  
 Prayer for children, 82.  
 Proselytea, 82.  
 Prussia, King of, 29.  
 Publication, Board of, 89.

RAUCH, 111.  
 Redemptioners, 30, 37, 114, 172.  
 Reeser, William, 151.  
 Reformation by the Middle Way, 4, 6.  
 Reformation in Silesia, 3-5.  
 Regent, Carolus Xavier, 21.  
 Reichel, 31, 105, 108, 109, 111, 115.  
 Reinwald, Christopher, 42, 48.

Revolution, The American, 148-159, 207-219.  
 Ritter, Franz, 109.  
 Roberts, John, 45.  
 Robinson, John, 37.  
 Rotterdam, 32.  
 Rupp, I. D., 200.

SACRAMENTS, 99.  
 Salford, 56.  
 Salvation, 7-9.  
 Sauer, Christopher, 68, 112, 194.  
 Schaeffer, Pastor, 27.  
 Schell, Michael, 45.  
 Schmidt, Jost, 109.  
 Schmoyer, Solomon, 47.

- Schneider, Benjamin, 173.  
 Schneider, Father, 141.  
 Schneider, Friedrich, 47, 184, 201.  
 Schneider, Pastor, 21.  
 Schools, (see Education).  
 Schubert, Christopher, 38, 49.  
 Schubert, David, 48, 49.  
 Schubert, Melchoir, 224.  
 Schultz, Abraham (1), 48.  
 Schultz, Abraham (2), 172.  
 Schultz, Abraham (3), 224.  
 Schultz, Andrew, 222.  
 Schultz, Balzer, 131, 171, 195, 222.  
 Schultz, Benjamin, 198.  
 Schultz, Christopher (1), 29, 31, 34, 36, 39, 42, 44, 47, 65, 66, 68, 69, 72, 73, 77, 81, 99, 115, 120, 128, 129, 130, 131, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 151, 153, 155, 168, 172, 183, 189, 194-199, 207-219, 222.  
 Schultz, Christopher (2), 222.  
 Schultz, Christopher, Jr., 86.  
 Schultz, Christopher K., 172.  
 Schultz, David (1), 39, 44, 47, 128, 144, 145, 172, 174, 192.  
 Schultz, David (2), 222.  
 Schultz, David (3), 224.  
 Schultz, Murder of Mrs. David, 44.  
 Schultz, E. H., 48.  
 Schultz, George (1), 40, 42, 43, 183.  
 Schultz, George (2), 34, 39, 40.  
 Schultz, George (3), 42, 43, 44, 68, 128, 145.  
 Schultz, George (4), 128, 145, 222.  
 Schultz, Gregorius, 42, 45, 48, 68, 128, 140.  
 Schultz, Gregory, 222.  
 Schultz, Horatio K., 44, 47.  
 Schultz, Isaac, 110, 135, 140, 143, 161, 170, 173, 199.  
 Schultz, Jeremiah K., 44, 47.  
 Schultz, John, 85, 100, 135, 199.  
 Schultz, Joshua, 95, 185, 199, 200.  
 Schultz, Melchior (1), 23.  
 Schultz, Melchior (2), 32, 45, 48.  
 Schultz, Melchior (3), 42, 43, 44, 47, 68, 128, 129, 145, 146, 222.  
 Schultz, Nathan, 47.  
 Schultz, Susanna, 38.  
 Schwedler, 25.  
 Schwenkfeld, 1-16, 18.  
 Schwenkfelders,  
   a Term of Reproach, 14.  
 Schwenkfelders,  
   Homes of Early, 17.  
   Number of, at death of Schwenkfeld, 20.  
   Persecuted, 17, 18.  
   Form of Worship, 18.  
   At Opening of 18th Century, 20.  
   Last Professing in Silesia, 25.  
   Under Jesuit Mission, 21-25.  
   In Saxony, 26-31.  
   Migration to Pennsylvania, 31-34.  
   Founding Homes in Pennsylvania, 35-54.  
   Declare allegiance, 35.  
   Picture of "Landing" suggested, 37.  
   a View of the Immigrants, 37-39.  
   Mentioned by Tourist V. Beek, 40.  
   Religious condition, 1734, 55, 60.  
   Not Organized Prior to 1782, 71.  
   Relation to Doctrines of Schwenkfeld, 80.  
   and Zinzendorf, 103-119.  
   Peaceful, 114.  
   Immigrants, Intelligent, 120.  
   and Education, 120-139.  
   as Citizens, 139-160.  
   Non-militants, 152, 153, 156, 158, 160, 207-219.  
   Opinion on, Expressed, 157.  
   and Public Office, 172.  
   Private Life of, 161-182.  
   Descendants of, scattered, 203, 204.  
   Secret Societies, 90.  
 Seibert, Henry R., 48.  
 Seiler, Hans Ulrich, 48, 172.  
 Seipt, Casper, 49, 68, 128.  
 Seipt, David, 40, 42, 44, 58, 196.  
 Separation of Church and State, 11.  
 Shuler, Rufus, 48.  
 Silesia, 4, 17.  
 Sin, 9.  
 Skippack, 109.  
 Smalcald, War of, 5.  
 Smissen, van der, 32.  
 Snyder, Henry, 49, 128, 168.  
 Snyder, Henry D., 48.  
 Spangenberg, 39, 59, 104-112.  
 Spirituality of Religion, 1, 7.  
 Supper, the Lord's, 4, 11.  
 Stedman, 32, 34, 38, 103.

Stiefel, 109.  
 Stock, George Carl, 132, 171.  
 Strasburg, 5.  
 Suabia, 17.  
 Sunday-schools (see Religious Education), 101, 165.  
 Switzerland, 17.  
 Synods of 1742, 112-118.

Till, William, 140.  
 Towamencin, 56, 130.  
 Tübingen, 5.

ULM, 1, 5.

VIENNA, 22-24.  
 Vienna, Bishop of, 4.

WAGNER, Abraham, 43, 53, 55, 57, 63, 109, 191, 194, 196.  
 Wagner, Christopher, 45, 49.  
 Wagner, David, 204.  
 Wagner, Melchior, 49, 149.  
 Wahn, Rd., 49.  
 War, the French and Indian, 141-148.  
 War, the Revolutionary, 148-159.  
 Warmer, Andrew, 128.  
 Weber, Christian, 109.  
 Weber Christopher, 144.  
 Weichenhan, 18, 178, 198, 199.  
 Weisenberg, 29.  
 Weiser, C. Z., 37, 193.  
 Weiser, Daniel, 185, 200.  
 Weiser, Conrad, 146.  
 Weiss, George, 28, 31, 36, 37, 39, 56, 58, 61, 69, 105, 107, 108, 110, 113, 120, 186, 197.  
 Werner, 18, 178.  
 Westphalia, Treaty of, 17, 21, 23, 26.  
 Whitefield, 110, 111.  
 Wiegner, Abraham, 48.  
 Wiegner, Adam, 24, 25.  
 Wiegner, Christopher, 39-41, 48, 57-59, 107-115, 192.  
 Wiegner, George, 222.  
 Wiegner, Mrs. George, 184.  
 Wiegner, Melchior, 42, 43, 129, 146.  
 Wilkinson, Jemima, 204.  
 Wiegner, Rosina, 128.

Wiegner, Susanna, 38.  
 Williams, David, 45.  
 Wistar, Casper, 40, 42.  
 Wittenberg, 3.  
 Worcester, 56.  
 Worship, Family, 178, 179.  
 Public, 18, 28, 61, 66, 68, 179.

YEAKEL, Abraham (1), 42, 45.  
 Yeakel, Abraham (2), 49, 128.  
 Yeakel, Abraham, 222.  
 Yeakel, Andrew, 135.  
 Yeakel, Balzer (1), 41.  
 Yeakel, Balzer (2), 42, 45, 140.  
 Yeakel, Balzer (3), 47, 128.  
 Yeakel, Balzer (4), 48.  
 Yeakel, Barbara, 47.  
 Yeakel, Casper (1), 42.  
 Yeakel, Casper (2), 222.  
 Yeakel, Christopher (1), 38, 43, 49, 224.  
 Yeakel, Christopher (2), 48, 68, 128, 129, 222.  
 Yeakel, Christopher (3), 135.  
 Yeakel Cottage, 43.  
 Yeakel, Daniel, 47.  
 Yeakel, David (1), 38, 42.  
 Yeakel, David (2), 135.  
 Yeakel, George (1), 41.  
 Yeakel, George (2), 47, 222.  
 Yeakel, Hans, 48.  
 Yeakel, Hans Heinrich, (or John), 42, 45, 47, 68, 128, 140.  
 Yeakel, Jacob, 222.  
 Yeakel, Jeremiah, 47, 222.  
 Yeakel, Jesse, 201.  
 Yeakel, John, 222.  
 Yeakel, Joseph, 47.  
 Yeakel, Josephus, 200.  
 Yeakel, Melchior, 224.  
 Yeakel, Regina, 38.  
 Yeakel, Rosina, 168.  
 Yeakel, Susanna, 38.  
 Young, Training of, see Education.

ZEISBERGER, 111,  
 Zimmerman, John, 107.  
 Zinzendorf, 25-30, 39, 103-119.  
 Zurich, 4.  
 Zwingli, 4.



THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



**BARON WILHELM VON KNYPHAUSEN, 1730-1789.**

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE HESSIAN AUXILIARY CORPS IN AMERICA, 1776-1782.

# Pennsylvania:

## THE GERMAN INFLUENCE IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

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**A Narrative and Critical History.**

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PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF  
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

### PART XIII.

*AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES,  
WITH REFERENCE TO THE  
GERMAN SOLDIERS IN THE REVOLUTION  
AND FRANKLIN'S VISIT TO GERMANY.*



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

**Publication Committee.**

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**American History**  
FROM  
**German Archives**  
WITH REFERENCE TO THE  
**German Soldiers in the Revolution**  
AND  
**Franklin's Visit to Germany**

BY  
**J. G. ROSENGARTEN**

PART XIII. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF  
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



LANCASTER, PA.  
1904



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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Prefatory Note . . . . .	1-3
CHAPTER I.	
American History from German Archives . . . . .	5-9
CHAPTER II.	
The German Soldier in the American War for Independence . . . . .	10-17
CHAPTER III.	
German Diaries and Journals . . . . .	18-31
CHAPTER IV.	
German Soldiers in the French Service . . . . .	32-36
CHAPTER V.	
Major General v. Riedesel . . . . .	37-42
CHAPTER VI.	
American History from German Sources . . . . .	43-49
CHAPTER VII.	
Franklin in Germany . . . . .	50-61
CHAPTER VIII.	
German Universities . . . . .	62-68
CHAPTER IX.	
Achenwall's Observations on North America . . . . .	69-91
Appendix . . . . .	91-93



## LIST OF PLATES.

FACING PAGE.	FACING PAGE.
Baron Knyphausen . . . frontispiece	Friedrich II. of Hesse . . . . . 40
Major Ernst v. Wilmowski . . . . . 8	Wilhelm IX. of Hesse . . . . . 44
Anspach Bayreuth troops . . . . . 16	Madam Riedesel . . . . . 48
Plan of the Battle of White-marsh . . . . . 18-19	Benjamin Franklin. . . . . 56
Baron v. Lossberg . . . . . 24	Brunswick Troops . . . . . 69
Order of Duke of Brunswick . . . . . 34	Hessian Dragoon. . . . . 80
General Riedesel . . . . . 37	Log Cabin built by Hessian Prisoners . . . . . 88

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE.	PAGE.
Head Piece . . . . . 1	Auf Fremden Boden, Silhouette. 36
Seal of Society . . . . . 1	Head Piece, Ornate. . . . . 37
Tail Piece, Sweet Peas . . . . . 3	Brunswick Arms . . . . . 37
Head Piece, Arms of Penn and Germany . . . . . 5	Safe Conduct by Donop. . . . . 39
Electorate of Hesse Arms. . . . . 5	Tail Piece, Silhouette . . . . . 42
Hesse-Nassau Arms. . . . . 8	Head Piece, Social Hour . . . . . 43
Great Britain and Ireland Arms. 10	Anspach Arms . . . . . 43
Head Piece, War and Peace. . . 10	Bavarian Arms. . . . . 49
Liegnitz Arms . . . . . 12	Head Piece, Franklin. . . . . 50
Bayreuth Arms. . . . . 15	Franklin Arms. . . . . 50
Recruit 1776, Silhouette. . . . . 17	Professor Matthias Sprengel, Portrait . . . . . 57
Head Piece, Auxiliaries. . . . . 18	Schlözer's Briefwechsel Title . . 59
Waldeck Arms. . . . . 18	Bavarian Arms. . . . . 60
Hessian Parole, MS. . . . . 21	Tail Piece . . . . . 61
Hessian Safe Conduct, MS. . . . . 24	Head Piece, Ceramics. . . . . 62
MS. return of Prisoners at Saratoga . . . . . 29	Zerbst Arms . . . . . 62
Veteran 1826, Silhouette . . . . . 31	Tail Piece, Virgil and Cicero . . 68
Head Piece, Conscription. . . . . 32	Head Piece, Achenwall . . . . . 69
Zweybruck Arms. . . . . 32	Anhalt Arms. . . . . 69
Autograph, Carl Von Stein . . . . . 34	Achenwall's Anmerkungen Title 70
Autograph, v. Mengen . . . . . 35	Head Piece. . . . . 91
	The End. . . . . 93





### PREFATORY NOTE.



**T**HE following pages are a contribution to a better knowledge of the German Allied Troops serving under the British flag in the war of American Independence. Printed in various journals and at different times, they are now for the first time brought together for the use of the Pennsylvania-German Society. The successive volumes of its publications have received the hearty praise of students of American history, and much light has been thrown on the hitherto neglected sources of our early German settlements, so large a factor in the successful growth of our own Commonwealth. This paper in its present form owes much of any value and interest it may possess, to the illustrations to the text, gathered and reproduced by Mr. Julius F. Sachse, whose artistic skill and historical knowledge have done so much for Pennsylvania history. It is to be hoped that the Pennsylvania-German Society will lend its help to secure copies of the great collection of original papers in German Archives, throwing new light on the successive phases of Germany's share in American history, alike in peace and in war, for at all times Ger-

many was a fostering mother for her children in America ; to the infant colonies, and especially to Pennsylvania, it supplied sturdy farmers, industrious mechanics, intelligent teachers, learned clergymen, educated physicians, university graduates and trained soldiers. Many of them are now famous in our history, but some are still buried in obscurity, and to reveal their services, search must be made in the forgotten archives of Germany, where are kept the letters between the German Church authorities and their representatives in this country, as well as the military records particularly referred to in the following pages. The Pennsylvania-German Society has wisely devoted most of its contributions to the peaceful side of our history, to the emigration that made Pennsylvania prosperous, and to the steady and sturdy growth of the German settlers in Pennsylvania. It may not be without interest to point to the other side of the picture, to the sources of a better knowledge of the part played by the German Allied Troops in the American Revolution, for to their familiar letters home this country, no doubt, owed much of its increased importance in the eyes of Germany, and after Independence was secured, many Germans who had served here as soldiers on the British side, came to the United States, some as travelers, many as settlers, and thus opened the way for that steady flow of German immigration that still continues to fill our borders. These pages may find a modest place among the many valuable contributions that have given to the Pennsylvania-German Society so distinguished a position among similar societies in this country.

There is still another phase of the relation of the German Allied Troops and America not found in the official archives of either country, but still of interest. There were a good many marriages of German officers and soldiers to Americans. In Rhode Island there was a case where two

sisters of an excellent Newport family married two of the Hessian officers, and to this day the tie of relationship is kept alive by exchange of letters and visits, for a period now of over a hundred and twenty-five years. There are other such cases in Maryland and Virginia and South Carolina, noteworthy among which may be quoted the case of the father of Rev. John Gottlieb Morris of Maryland, who became a distinguished surgeon in the Revolutionary army. Still more frequent were the marriages of non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, both during their period of service and after their discharge. There is in Philadelphia more than one noteworthy family sprung from such international marriages, and in one case at least, in spite of a translation of the good old German name to one nearer English style, the American descendants have renewed relations with their German kinsfolk and traced these far and wide. Hardly an old Pennsylvania or Maryland town or village, where Hessians and other German allied troops were quartered during their long imprisonment after Saratoga and Trenton and Yorktown, that there is not a family descended from a Hessian ancestor. Could it not be possible to collect the details of these marriages, and form among the descendants, another sort of patriotic society, in which Americans descended from German soldiers should alone be enrolled? No doubt many of these families have letters and papers that would be of interest.









## CHAPTER I.

### AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES.



**W**HILE a body of able historians, McMaster, Rhoades, Fiske, Schouler and others are enriching the world by an admirable series of works on American history, there still remains another field for historical research of interest and value. There are in Germany many papers dealing with the services of the Germans who were here as soldiers under

the British flag, and took an active and important part in the war of American independence. Bancroft and Lowell, Kapp and Ratterman have collected and used such material as they could gather, and General Stryker, in his *History of the Battle of Trenton*, has added largely to our stock of material for a better knowledge of the contents of the German Archives still carefully preserved at Marburg and Berlin, and other collections of German records. It was through Kapp's labors that Bancroft added to his own collections,

now belonging to the New York Public Library and deposited in the Lenox Library of that city. These include Steuben's Letters, Riedesel's Papers, the Anspach Papers, the Brunswick Papers, Ewald's *Feldzug der Hessen nach Amerika*, *Geschichte der Hessischen Yäger in Amerikanischen Kriegen*, 14 vols. of German MSS., Diaries and Journals of Wiederhold, Malzburg, the Lossberg Regiment, von Malsburg, Papet, Wiederfeld, the 3d Waldeck Regiment, Lotheisen, Reuber, Piel, Döhla, Rütter, Dinklage, the Hessian Yäger Regiment, and many volumes of Reports on the Battles of Long Island, Bennington, the Brandywine, and State Papers relating to Prussia and America, Prussia and France, Prussia and Holland, Prussia and England and Washington and Frederick the Great, in all forty MS. volumes bearing on the American Revolution. Sparks, in his collection now deposited in the Library of Harvard University, had a collection of papers of Steuben, the MS. of De Kalb's *Mission to America* in 1768 (since printed in part in French), the Correspondence of Frederick the Great with his Ministers in London and Paris during the American War of Independence, procured in Berlin in 1844 by Wheaton, then American Minister there. In the *Magazine of American History* for 1877, there is a translation, by A. A. Bierstadt, of Bauermeister's *Narrative of the Capture of New York*, addressed to Captain von Wangenheim; this was part of the Bancroft collection. In the same volume is De Lancey's account of the capture of Fort Washington, with a map, from the original in Cassel, obtained by Professor Joy for Mr. J. Carson Brevoort. The New York Historical Society has printed the Journal of Krafft, a volunteer and corporal in Donop's regiment, and a lieutenant in that of von Bose, who married in New York, became a clerk in the Treasury Department at Washing-

ton, and died there in 1804. That Society has also printed the Journal of General Rainsford, the British Commissary in charge of the German forces sent to this country by Great Britain. General Stryker obtained from the Archives at Marburg and Cassel many important papers freely and well used in his capital history of the Battle of Trenton; they include the Court of Inquiry of the Lossberg, Knyphausen and Rall Regiments, lists of their officers and of those of the Artillery and Yägers, Maps by Wiederhold, Fischer and Piel, the letters of Donop and Rall, of the Electors of Hesse to Knyphausen, Diaries of Piel, Minnigerode, Wiederhold and Ewald, Reports of Donop's Spies, and altogether some twenty MSS., all dealing with the Battle of Trenton.

Mr. Charles Gross gave, in the New York *Evening Post*, an account of his visit to the Marburg Archives, where he found the Journal of the Hessian Corps in America under General v. Heister; Reports of Heister and of his successor in command, v. Knyphausen, and many hundreds of unbound papers. In the Kriegs Archiv des Grossen Generalstabs in Berlin there are many official reports and many papers not arranged or catalogued.

Frederick Kapp described the Marburg Archives as including ten folio volumes of papers relating to the part taken by the Hessian Corps in the American Revolution, the negotiations of the Landgrave and his Minister, v. Schlieffen, with the English government, the correspondence of the commanding officers, with reports of operations, maps, sketches, etc. There are three volumes of the proceedings of the Court Martial on the Battle of Trenton, a number of Hessian War Records indexed by Col. Sturmfeder, and hundreds of letters written by officers to their families, who were directed by the Landgrave to send

them to him for perusal — involuntary, but very good and competent witnesses of what they saw in America. Mr. Edward J. Lowell, author of that capital book, *The Hessians in the American Revolution*, in a paper printed in the second volume, second series of the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, speaks of thirty-seven regimental journals, and twelve volumes of papers at Marburg and twenty-five in Cassel, in addition to a large collection in Berlin, a fragment of a Journal of the Waldeck Regiment at Arolsen, and that of an officer of the Anspach Regiment in the Anspach

Library. In his *Hessians in the American Revolution*, Mr. Lowell refers to a dozen Diaries and Journals in the collection at Cassel. A copy of one of these, that of Wiederhold, covers the period from October 7, 1776, to December 7, 1780, with seventeen colored maps, plans, etc. At the end there is a note that Wiederhold died in Cassel in 1805, when the original descended to his



son, who died at Marburg in 1863. From him it passed to his son, who went to America in 1880, but since then has not been heard from, so that the original has been lost or is, at least, no longer accessible. Bancroft and Washington Irving used copies (without the maps, etc.) made for them, and speak of it as very valuable. Bound up with my copy are extracts from letters of Henel and Henkelman and Ries, giving an account of the capture of Fort Washington, and the order changing the name to Fort Knyphausen; a list

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EMANUEL ERNST ANTON VON WILMOUSKY.  
MAJOR LOSSBERG REGIMENT, JUNIOR.



of the Hessian Regiments and their commanders, and a memorandum that each batallion was ordered to keep an exact journal in duplicate, of which one copy was to be filed in the State Archives; lists of the Troops sent to America and their organization, and of General and Field Officers; list of casualties at the capture of Fort Washington, signed by Knyphausen; and a bibliography of German books, on the share of the German troops in the American War of Independence, among them the Memoirs of Ochs and Senden, who lived to be Hessian General Officers, and various Magazine articles, and the Diary of a Hessian Officer by Dr. v. Heister in the *Zeitschrift für Kunst des Krieges*, Berlin, 1828; a fragment of an apparently original Diary of a Soldier; a copy of that of Rechnagel; extracts from the Journal of Donop, and from that of the Court of Inquiry on the Battle of Trenton, with reports of the Lossberg, Knyphausen and Rall Regiments in that affair, and of Schaffer, Matthaeus, Baum, Pauli, Biel, Martin, all dated Philadelphia, 1778, and the finding of the Court, dated April 23, 1782, and a fragment of its report. The author of this Diary, Andreas Wiederhold, was a Lieutenant in Rall's Regiment and afterwards Captain in the Knyphausen Regiment. Lowell, in his capital book on *The Hessians in America*, makes frequent use of this Diary, and in a note says that Ewald mentions Wiederhold as distinguished in 1762, so that he could not have been a very young man when he served here. Lowell used a copy in the Cassel Library, and notes that "it was made from the original by the husband of Wiederhold's granddaughter, and contains several interesting appendices," so mine may be a counterpart.





## CHAPTER II.

### THE GERMAN SOLDIER IN THE AMERICAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.



IN the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, Thursday, January 25, 1900, appeared the following on "The German Soldier in the American War for Independence":

For many years Germany showed a good deal of regret for the part played by its soldiers in the English Army in our struggle for independence.

With her own rise and growth in importance as a nation, she has begun to assert the value of the services of the German allies of the British Army. Eelking wrote an exhaustive history of their achievements, and Kapp a valuable book on the subject. Not long since a Hessian, Treller, published quite a good historical novel, *Forgotten Heroes*, in which he paid tribute to the Germans who fought under the English flag in America. Recently another German author, Moritz von Berg, printed a long historical romance on the same subject, dedicated to the great grandson of General von

Heister, the leader of the Hessian soldiers in America. The story is drawn largely from the papers of the times still preserved in the public offices and by private families of the country which sent its sons to fight here. The scenes described contrast the home life of the Hessians at the time, and the new country in which the young soldiers made their campaign, and the historical portion deals with the elector of Hesse and his share in supplying soldiers to his cousin, the King of England, to help in reducing his rebellious subjects in America. The events of the American War of Independence are followed very closely, and in an appendix are a number of hitherto unprinted letters and some documents drawn from the Archives at Marburg, and from Eelking, and other historical sources.

The book has value and interest as showing that Germany to-day takes a curious pride in the share her sons played in the history of the United States. Of even greater interest is the "Diary of a Hessian officer at the time of the American War of Independence," recently printed at Pyritz on the anniversary of the founding of the Royal Bismarck Gymnasium of that place. It is the journal of Captain von Dörnberg, preserved by his family at their home in Hesse. It covers the period from March 1779 to June 1781, and gives his letters home from the time he left with his command until his return on the staff of General Knyphausen. There is a brief historical sketch of the War of American Independence, intended for the use of the boys of the Gymnasium or High School, and a short sketch of the life of the writer, who, after serving in the Wars with Napoleon and later as Hessian Minister in London, died in Cassel in 1819. His diary, journal and letters are mostly written in French, for that was the court language of the day, and his clever pencil sketches served

to heighten their interest for the home circle, while their preservation until their recent publication shows that his descendants are not ashamed of his share of that service, which at least made America better known to the people of Germany, while it gave them lessons of value for their own improvement in the art of war. Although the campaigns took him through both North and South, it is characteristic of German fidelity to duty, that his descriptions are limited to his own modest share in the business of soldiering, and that he nowhere gives the slightest intimation that he saw the future greatness of the new republic. In this respect he and his countrymen were greatly unlike the French, whose letters and descriptions were full of their anticipations of the country to whose independence they contributed alike in men and money. The Dörn-

berg Diary, however, has the value of an original and hitherto unprinted addition to the contemporary records of the American Revolution by one who did his best to prevent its successful issue.

Then there are novels by Spielhagen and by Norden, dealing with the adventures of the German soldiers serving in the English army in the American Revolution.



The editor of the Dörnberg Diary, Gotthold Marseille, Head Master of the Gymnasium at Pyritz, speaks of a privately printed Family History of the Schlieffens, belonging to the present head of the family living at Pyritz, with a full account of the negotiations of Count Martin

von Schlieffen as Minister of Landgraf Frederick II. of Hesse Cassel, with Col. Faucit as the representative of George III. He also refers to Ewald's book on Light Infantry, published in Cassel in 1785, on his return from America, where he had learned many useful lessons afterwards put in practice in his reorganization of the German troops for service in the wars with Napoleon. The continuation of Dörnberg's Diary will add another to the numerous list of original papers by those who actually served here.

Pausch's Journal was printed by Stone as No. 14 of Munsell's Historical Series, Albany, 1887, and as he was Chief of the Hanau Artillery during Burgoyne's Campaign it has, of course, special interest. Gen. Stryker got through Mr. Pendleton, then Minister in Berlin, an order from the younger Bismarck, then an assistant to his father, to examine the records at Marburg, and through a German long resident in Trenton he procured about a thousand pages of MS., covering everything relating to the Hessians at Trenton. The substance of this is now published in Gen. Stryker's admirable and exhaustive *History of the Battle of Trenton*, rich in its original material, reproduced in text and notes and appendices, for students of history. Taking advantage of the fact that a nephew was studying at Marburg, I wrote to him that Lowell said a descriptive catalogue of the Archives there relating to the American War of Independence could be made for six hundred marks, and asked him to call on Dr. Könnicke, for many years in charge. In reply to questions on the subject, he said it would cost four or five thousand marks, and take a long time, adding that Eelking was too biassed to be trustworthy, and he (Könnicke) had no sympathy with Americans. He, however, showed his collection of Berichte,

Tagebücher, Registers, Letters between the Landgraf and Knyphausen; an assistant was much more ready to give all the help in his power, and I still think that such a Catalogue of the American records at Marburg would be well worth getting. The renewed interest of the Hessians in the part their ancestors took in the American War of Independence is shown in a lecture on the subject by Col. v. Werthern, of the Hussar Regiment Hesse Homburg, delivered by him at the Officers' Casino, and printed at Cassel in 1895. He refers to Eelking and to von Pfister's unfinished work on the same subject, Cassel, 1864, and to letters printed in the *Preussische Militär Wochenblatt* in 1833, and in the second volume of the *Kurhessischen Zeitschrift*; Col. v. Werthern says his special purpose is to enlist the interest of owners of letters and journals of those who took part in the American War, some of which had been shown to him. The publication of the Dörnberg Diary shows that good results have followed his appeal. He estimates the number who remained in America as about 4,500, and no doubt many of them became good Americans. He mentions the fact that the young volunteer, Ochs, who has left a capital book on his experiences as a soldier in America, rose to be a General in the Hessian Army, and left a son who served from 1836 to 1850, and finally was in command of the Regiment which Col. v. Werthern was addressing in 1895. Not without interest is Popp's Diary, he was a soldier in the Beyreuth Anspach Regiment, who came to this country in his 22nd year, an illiterate young fellow; he began his Diary on June 26, 1777, and carried it on after his return home, adding some curious verses, Das Lied von Ausmarsch and Gedenken über die Hergabe der beiden Markgrafthümer Bayreuth u. Anspach in Franken an das Königliche Haus Preussen,

in which, with great patience and ingenuity, the left-hand column is a strong thanksgiving, but reading across the lines there is a right-hand column in which the Lord's Prayer is so divided as to change the sense into a bitter attack on this transfer of sovereignty. The original is preserved in the City Library of Bayreuth; it closes with some notes as late as 1796, and has some very good maps of the operations on the Hudson, on the Delaware and around Philadelphia. The copy of it which I own was made for me at Bayreuth, but the Librarian there said that he knew of no other material of the kind preserved in either public or private collections in that quaint old town so full of memories of the 18th Century. In a little book of *Stories of Hessian War History*, by Freiherr v. Ditfurth, (the name is of interest as it was that of one of the Hessian Regiments which served here)—there is a statement that from one Hessian village, 30 men were sent with various Regiments to America, and 12 of them were heads of families. Reuber's Diary shows that of these 30, only 2 died here, and one remained in America. A

large proportion of the so-called Hessians were volunteers from other parts of Germany, attracted by the high pay and the good care given by the British to their soldiers. In those days of distress and need, Germans were only too glad to escape compulsory military service in Prussia and other German States, by volunteering in the Regiments raised for the American War, and the prospect of a new home.



Ditfurth demonstrates the utter falsity of the pretended letter of the elector of Hesse Cassel, dated February 8, 1778, now accepted as one of Franklin's characteristic and clever bits of satire directed against Great Britain and its allies. It seems to have been revived in the German press in 1847, through an American historian, Eugene Regnaud, of the St. Louis *Reveille*, and printed by Dr. Franz Löher, professor and member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, in his *History of Germans in America*, Leipsic and Cincinnati, 1847, as an interesting, if doubtful, contribution to the contemporary documents of the American Revolution. A careful answer was supplied in the *Grenzboten* of 1858 (No. 29) by the Keeper of the Archives at Cassel, in copies or extracts from the MS. correspondence of the Landgraf Frederick II. with Heister and Knyphausen, in reference to the Hessian losses at Trenton; in fact, the regiments that suffered most there now make that battle part of their record of honor. It is one of their traditions that Ewald first threw aside the powdered queues and heavy boots of the Hessians, clothing his Yägerbattalion in a fashion suited to American climate and conditions, and thus set the example followed with great advantage in the Napoleonic Wars. Other Hessian officers who had served here, notably Münchhausen, Wiederhold, Ochs, Emmerich, Ewald and others, applied the lessons they had learned here and thus became distinguished among the soldiers who showed great ability in restoring to Germany its independence of French mastery. The reputation brought home by the Hessians who served in America led Frederick the Great of Prussia to try to secure for his army the services of their officers, particularly of the light infantry and Yägers. Many of them won distinction in the wars with Napoleon against the French offi-

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UNIFORMS OF ANSPACH-BAIREUTH INFANTRY.

INFANTRY REGT.  
VOIGT V BALZBURG.

GRENADEIER BAT.  
V BEUST.

FUSILIER BAT.  
V REITZENSTEIN.

JÄGER BAT.  
V WALDENFELS.

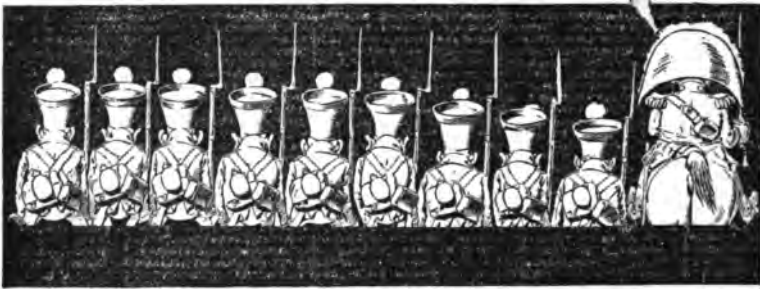




cers who had also served against them in America. The army lists of France, Germany and England are full of the names of those who had learned useful lessons in the art of war in the American Revolution. Even the pay, clothing, food and allowances of the Hessian soldiers were increased in order to secure something like the advantageous conditions under which officers and men served under the British flag in America and in the other wars and expeditions that were carried on largely by German allied troops.

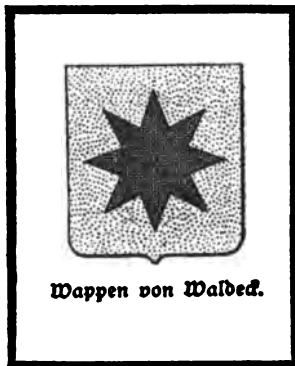


THE RECRUIT 1776.



### CHAPTER III.

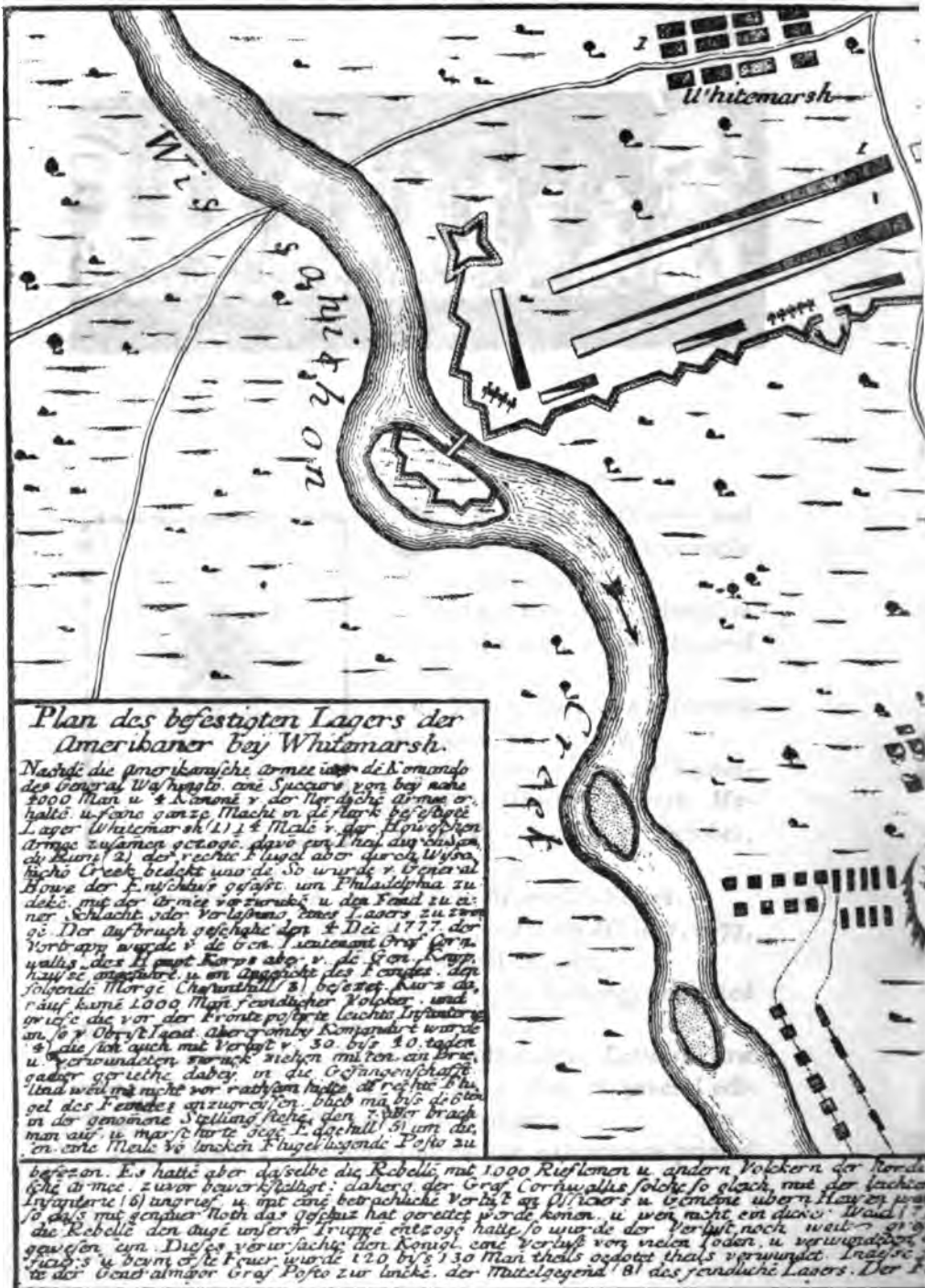
#### GERMAN DIARIES AND JOURNALS.



**F** the German Diaries and Journals now accessible in print, there are :

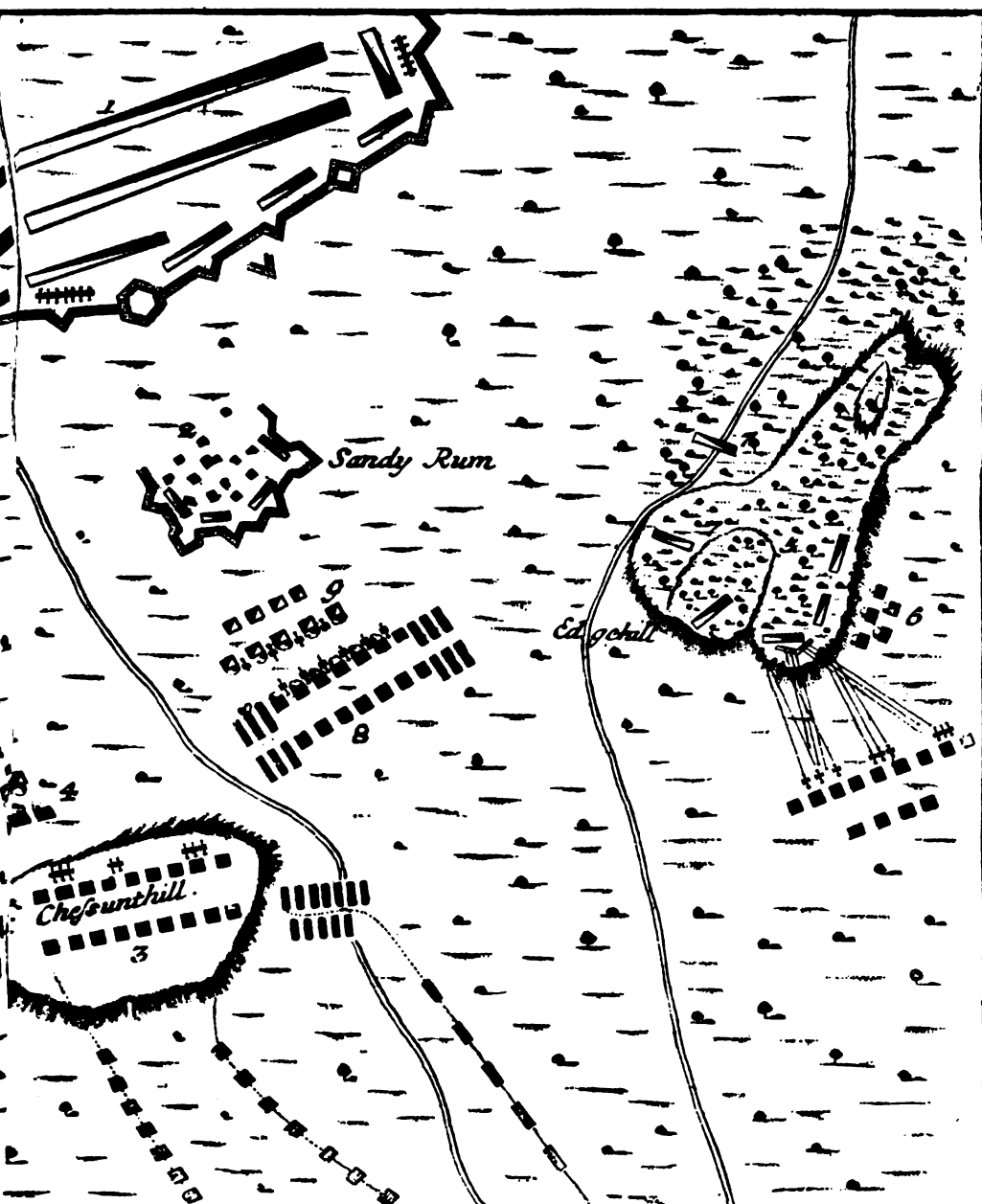
1. Melzheimer, printed in Montreal from a copy furnished by Stone.
2. Papet, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*.
3. Döhla, printed by Rattermann in *Deutsch Amerik. Magazin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 1866.
4. Pausch, printed by Stone, in Munsell's Series.
5. Baurmeister, in *Magazine of American History*, 1877, by Bierstadt, of the N. Y. Historical Society.
6. Riedesel's Letters in his *Life* by Eelking, reprinted in a translation by Stone.
7. Madame von Riedesel's admirable *Letters*, first printed in Berlin in 1801, and since then in several editions both in Germany and in this country.
8. Schübert v. Senden's Journal (an extract was printed





PLAN OF THE BATTLE

FROM JOURNAL OF STEPHAN POPP, WHO SERVED IN THE BAYREUTH REGIMENT, 1777-1783. C



aber Schacke Jin zu bewohnen einen Haufen 91 ab, welcher aber durch des Generals Vorposten, mit seinem Vorposten von 60. Mann an toden u. verwundenen zurück geschlagen worden. Wiewohl aber der Feind aus seiner Stellung nicht zu bringe u. die Truppe am Ende u. Grösch bei dieser Jahreszeit nicht aushalten konnten, so zogen sich dieselben den 3. an gegen Philadelphia zurück, um die Winterquartiere dafelbst zu beziehen. Überhaupt sind in denselben verschiedene Scharmützeln vom 8ten bis zum 1. Dec. 1. Lieutenant 2. Sergeants 16 Gemeine getödtet; 3. Lieut. 4 Sergeants, 53 Gemeine verwundet, u. 33 Gemeine vermisst, in allem 111. Mann.

Ich bin e. Will erwid. aus Tins.



in 1839 in Vol. 47, of the *Journal for Art, Science and History of War*, Berlin, Mittler).

Of others not yet printed there are MSS. :

1. *Malsburg*, mentioned by Eelking as in his possession in Meiningen in 1862. Of it Bancroft's Collection (now in the Lenox Library, N. Y.) has a copy in two volumes, made by Kapp's direction, with his note that Malsburg was a superficial observer and reporter, as well as of :

2. *Reuter's*, of Rall's Regiment, 1776-1783.

3. *Lotheisen's* Journal of the Leib (Body) Guard Regiment, 1776-1784, with a description of Philadelphia in 1777-1778. Eelking notes that he had compared the original signed by Lotheisen, Marburg, August 1, 1784, with the copy.

4. *Piel*, Lossberg Regiment, 1776-1783, includes Diary of Voyage, and Extracts from Trenton Court of Inquiry.

5. *Steuernagel*, Waldeck Regiment, 1776-1783.

6. *Wiederhold*, Diary, 1776-1780 (printed in Amer. Germ.) (vide Appendix A).

7. *Ewald*, *Feldzug der Hessen in Amerika*, copied from *Ephemeriden*, Marburg, 1785.

8. Journal of Lowenstein Regiment.

9. do of Plattes Battalion, by Bauer.

10. do of Lossburg Regiment, by Heusser.

11. do of Huyn Regiment, by Kleinschmidt.

12. do of the Feldjäger Corps.

13. do of the Trumbach Regiment.

14. do of the Knoblauch Regiment.

15. do of the Mirbach Regiment.

16. Reports of Knyphausen and Riedesel.

17. Popp's Journal (vide Appendix B).

Of printed books by Germans who served here, many are noteworthy, for instance, Friedrich Adolph Julius von Wangenheim, First Lieutenant and later Captain on the



staff, came in 1777 from the Ducal Gotha service into the Hessian Yäger Corps, and remained in it after the war. He published in Göttingen in 1781 a "Description of American Trees, with reference to their use in German forests," and this little volume, dated at Staaten Island, was after his return, reprinted in 1787, in a handsome illustrated folio. He afterwards entered the Prussian Forestry service, and established near Berlin a small collection of American trees, still preserved with pride by his successors in office in charge of it.

Dr. Johann David Schoepf was a military surgeon in the German forces serving here during the American Revolution, and he printed in Erlangen, in 1781, an account of his medical experiences, which was translated and reprinted in Boston in 1875. He also printed in 1787 a *Materia Medica Americanis Septentrionalis Potissimum Regni Vegetabilis*, in which he used material supplied to him by G. H. E. Muhlenberg, of Lancaster; later he returned here and his *Travels*, published in 1788, are well-known, and he did even greater service by making American botanists and men of other scientific pursuits better known to those of Germany by exchange of letters, etc.

In 1817 General Baron von Ochs published in Cassel his observations on the modern art of war, containing much of his personal experiences during his service in this country as a subaltern. His *Life* has a very good account of his services in this country.

In 1796 Ewald, then a lieutenant-colonel in the Danish service, published in Schleswig, his *Service of Light Infantry*, already printed in Hesse Cassel in 1784; it is full of references to his personal experiences in America, and it is significant of the man that after carrying off from the Hopkinson House, at Bordentown, N. J., the volume

At the undersigned's residence Office under the Convention  
 of London leaving Thomas Davidson to go to Washington the  
 State of Pennsylvania, with a letter of introduction for the Governor  
 from the 28th. I have also duly received and engaged on the  
 part of Messrs. and on the faith of Gentlemen that we will not  
 do or say anything to the prejudice of the United States of America  
 or any of them, nor will we endeavor to obtain a knowledge of  
 the secrets of the Government or situation of the Bank of England or  
 any other, nor will we endeavor of the United States or any of them  
 to send any letters or messages or communications any other person to the  
 prejudice of the said States, and shall <sup>we</sup> likewise return as the time limits  
 for our return.

On which subject we have herewith the

Underhand this 9th day of October 1780

Charles Davidson  
 Charles de Meillon

edited by Provost Smith, of the College of Philadelphia, containing young Hopkinson's prize essay, he returned it with thanks, and the book is still in the possession of the Hopkinson family as one of their rare treasures. In his little book he reports what General Howe told him of his personal experience during the old French War in America, and confirms it by his success with light troops in the American War of Independence. He gives a curious picture of Philadelphia in 1778, when Colonel von Wurmb had charge of the expeditions sent out to bring in supplies; he divided his force into three parties,—one went out on the Lancaster Road, another out the Marshall Road, and the third out the Darby road—these three roads being parallel and only a half hour's march apart; the woods that lined them were thoroughly searched by patrols, so that the enemy, in spite of Washington and Morgan, could never reach the foragers. He speaks of the success of the Americans in their attacks on small and large English forces not properly protected by light infantry outposts. His own experience in the Seven Years' War in Europe was of service to him in America, and that again increased his efficiency in the war with France and Germany. He describes Pulaski's failure at Egg Harbor, and Donop's at Red Bank, and Arnold's in Virginia, and Armand's at Morristown, and Tarleton's success, and his own, as examples of what light infantry can do or fail in, just as they are well or badly led. He criticises Howe's failure to follow up his success at Brandywine, and calls it building a golden bridge for the enemy thus to neglect to drive him with fresh troops when he is in retreat. In the Jerseys, on Rhode Island, at Germantown, in Virginia, he saw just such examples of the neglect to use light infantry to advantage, and he points out many instances in which

their value was shown on both sides. Ewald also printed at Schleswig, in 1798, 1800 and 1803, three small volumes, *Belehrungen über den Krieg*, with anecdotes of soldiers from Alexander and Pompey to Frederick the Great and Napoleon, with some of his own personal experience in America.

Seume, a well-known German writer, wrote at Halifax in 1782 his account of his experience in the Hessian service; it was first printed in Archenholz' *Journal* in 1789, and a translation is in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for November, 1887; it is also found in his autobiography, published in his collected works, and the changes between this and the earlier version have been unfavorably commented on.

Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, 10 volumes, 1776-1782, and his *Staats Anzeigen*, a continuation, in 18 volumes, contain many papers of interest relating to the American War of Independence, notably a series of letters from an officer who served under Burgoyne, and dragged out weary months as a prisoner of war in Cambridge and later in Virginia. The Frankfort *Neuesten Staatsbegebenheiten* published letters by German officers describing the Battle of Long Island. v. Sendens *Tagebuch* appeared in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Krieges*, Berlin, Mittler, 8th and 9th parts, 1839. He, too, was a general officer at the time of his death.

v. Heister's Diary is printed in *Zeitschrift für Kunst des Krieges*, Berlin, Mittler, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1828.

Reimer, *Amerikanisches Archiv*, 3 vols., Brunswick, 1777-8.

Melsheimer, *Tagebuch*, Minden, 1776.

Riedesel, Mme., *Die Berufsreise Nach Amerika*, Berlin, 1801 (and frequently reprinted). One of the most charm-

Höchst beist  
 allen offiziere soldaten und was sonst Zue einem gesand  
 was die dienst auf das geschick befehlen dem  
 Ezra Black ein wohnen von das große schiff  
 Burlington in der provinz New Jersey und dessen  
 familie und eigenthum nicht im geringsten zu  
 beladigen oder etwas zu antworten widrigkeit  
 sollen sehr auf das sehr ernstlich bestraft  
 werden befohlen

gegeben den 10<sup>ten</sup> December 1776

Höchst beist das Commandanten nebst  
 — Johann Hinrichs  
 Lieut

SAFE CONDUCT, SIGNED BY LIEUT. HINRICHS. (ORIGINAL IN  
 F. G. ROSENGARTEN'S COLLECTION.)

(Translation.) All officers, soldiers, and whosoever pertains to the army  
 are hereby most sharply commanded that Ezra Black, a resident of the County  
 of Burlington, in the province of New Jersey, his family and property are not  
 to be injured in the least, nor is anything to be purloined. Otherwise such  
 will be most severely punished.

Bordendaun, given the 10th of December, 1776.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

JOHANN HINRICHS, Lieut.



Gelt Brief  
 In gütigen Willen und was steht Zie armen gesond  
 und schick auf das folgende Befehl den  
 Hohen Raths ein wofür wir das große Recht in  
 Bunde sind In der vorliegenden Angelegenheit sind die  
 gemeinen und nützlichen Nicht in geringem  
 beizulegen oder mit der Zie anderen armen  
 Hohen Raths und des Hohen Raths Befehl  
 werden die Raths

gegeben am 10. in December 1776

Der Befehl. . . Commandant  
 — Johann Hinrichs  
 Lieut

SAFE . . . FACT, SIGNED BY LIEUT. HINRICHS. (ORIGINAL IN  
 F. G. ROSENGARTEN'S COLLECTION.)

(. . . . .) All officers, soldiers, and whosoever pertains to the army  
 are . . . most sharply commanded that Ezra Black, a resident of the County  
 of . . . in the province of New Jersey, his family and property are not  
 to be . . . in the least, nor is anything to be purloined. Otherwise such  
 most severely punished.

London, given the 10th of December, 1776.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

JOHANN HINRICHS, Lieut.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



**BARON FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON LOSSBERG.**

MAJOR-GENERAL, 1778-1781; LIEUTENANT-GENERAL 1782-1783.





ing books that can be found — full of womanly heroism.

*Leiste, Beschreibung des Brittischen Amerika.* Wolfenbüttel, 1778.

*Schlieffen, Von den Hessen in Amerika,* 1782.

*Hinrichs*, extracts from the letter book of Captain Johann Hinrichs of the Hessian Yäger Corps, 1778–1780, translated by Julius F. Sachse, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, July, 1898.

*Brunswick Magazine*, a Hessian journal, gives a letter, reprinted in translation in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, from the Duke to Riedesel, advising all supernumerary officers and sick and wounded and men under punishment to remain in America.

*Der Hessische Offizier in America* is a curious little play printed in Göttingen, 1783, and characteristic as showing the interest in America at the time of its publication. The scene is laid in Philadelphia during its occupancy by the British, and Indians, Quakers, English, German and American soldiers, and negroes, are among the dramatis personæ,—it must have been written by some one who had been here, for it shows great familiarity with the city and the conflicting parties residing or stationed here during the Revolution.

Of recent works, dealing with the German soldiers in the British Army during the American War of Independence, the most notable are :

Max von Eelking, *Die Deutschen Hülfsstruppen im Nord-amerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783.* Hanover, 1863, 2 vols. (An abridged translation was printed by Munsell in Albany in 1893.)

Eelking, *Leben und Wirken des Herzoglich Braunschweig'schen General Lieutenants Friedrick Adolph von Riedesel*, Leipzig, 1856, 3 vols. (Stone's translation was printed by Munsell in Albany.)

Friedrich Kapp, *Der Soldatenhandel deutschen Fürsten nach Amerika*, Berlin, 1864 and a second edition, 1874.

His life of Steuben and that of De Kalb were printed, the former in Berlin, 1858, and the latter in Stuttgart in 1862, and both in English in New York subsequently. His *Geschichte der deutschen im Staate New York*, N. Y., 1869.

His *Friederich der Grosse und die Vereingten Staaten von Amerika*, Leipzig, 1871.

Ferdinand Pfister, *Der Nordamerikanische Unabhängigkeits Krieg*, Kassel, 1864.

An anonymous pamphlet, *Friedrich II.*, Cassel, 1879, was translated (in an abridged form) and printed, with portraits of the two Electors of Hesse Cassel, father and son, who sent their soldiers to America under treaty with Great Britain, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in July, 1899. Besides its defence of the Hessian Princes on the ground that their alliance was in conformity with their traditional and historical coöperation with Great Britain, in a desperate and successful war in behalf of Protestant liberty against French tyranny and Romanism and the Free-thinking Voltairianism of Frederick the Great of Prussia, it is of interest from its demonstration of the falsity of Seume's Autobiography, and from its denial of the authenticity of the pretended letter of the Elector of Cassel, urging his General not to cure sick and wounded Hessian soldiers, as the dead ones returned more profit to their Landesvater! It is somewhat odd that this very letter should be claimed for Franklin as one of his literary burlesques by Tyler in his *Literary History of the American Revolution*, (see Vol. 2, pp. 367, 8-80,) while Bigelow in his *Life of Franklin* (Vol. 2, p. 393) and in his *Works of Franklin* (Vol. 5, pp. 224

and 243 and Vol. 6, pp. 4-8), says it was written by Franklin not long after his arrival in France in the latter part of 1776, "and is in some respects the most powerful of all the satirical writings of Franklin, equalled only by Swift in evolving both the horror and the derision of mankind." Franklin, in a letter to John Winthrop, sends from Paris on May 1, 1777, "one of the many satires that have appeared on this occasion"; *i. e.*, the sale of soldiers by German Princes. This pretended Letter of Count de Schaumburg, is dated Rome, Feb. 18, 1777, but it is not printed in Sparks, or any of the authorized editions of Franklin's works. It still remains a question of when and where and how it was first printed and published; it does not appear in Ford's *Franklin Bibliography*, which prints most of Franklin's clever jeux d'esprit, that were printed on his press at Passy and soon found their way into print in Europe and America, but Ford printed it in his *Many Sided Franklin*, page 244; Bigelow says it appears in a French version in *Lescure Correspondence inedite secrete sur Louis XVI.* (Vol. 1, pp. 31-33) Paris, but with no allusion to Franklin. No copy of it is found in the American Philosophical Society's collection of the imprints of the Passy Press, although Ford accepts Sparks and Bigelow's attribution of the authorship to Franklin, and the internal evidence fully confirms the statement; it would be of interest to fix the time and place of its first publication, its fortune in being virulently attacked, and its use in exciting justifiable indignation against the Hessian Princes, who shared with other German petty sovereigns, in the sale of subjects to fight under a foreign flag in a war which, as Frederick the Great said, was none of their business, for these things have given it a value and importance far beyond the other satirical letters produced by Franklin at

his busy Passy Press. Bancroft tells us that Frederick the Great encouraged France to enter into the alliance with America, — a counter stroke of vast importance far outweighing in its advantages for the struggling young republic, any benefit gained for Great Britain by its costly purchase of German soldiers. His hostility to England, however, did not lead him to fulfil his implied promise to join France in its active and substantial support of the Americans, for no doubt rebellion and independence were more than he could encourage, little as he liked the British effort to crush them. It is curious that Lowell should speak of Franklin's smart satire as a clumsy forgery. Kapp in his *Soldatenhandel* (Berlin, 1864) printed the letter in the Appendix 29, on page 267, from Vol. No. 500 of the pamphlets in the Library of the Historical Society of New York, and described it as printed on six octavo pages, without place of publication, but in very large type. He reproduces the original French with all its typographical mistakes, and prints on pp. 196–197 of his book a German version of the letter, and speaks of it as one of a flood of pamphlets, of which a very characteristic example was Mirabeau's *Avis aux Hessois et autres Peuples de l'Allemagne, Vendus par leur Princes à l'Angleterre, A Cleves chez Bertol, 1777*, which is now very rare, Kapp says, because the Elector of Cassel bought up all the copies he could find. It is very characteristic of the two, Mirabeau and Franklin, that the latter refers to his now famous letter only once, and that in sending it to his friend Winthrop, as one of the issues of the press then current, and it nowhere appears in his printed works or correspondence, but in the life of Mirabeau by his son, it is said that "the first work written by Mirabeau in Amsterdam was the pamphlet *Avis aux Hessois*, 12

How. Auburn of German Descent to the  
American Arms. After 17<sup>th</sup> 1799 —

Col for # Regts -	Infantry	B. Genl	Colonels	Colonel	Majors	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Chaplain	Adjutant	Quarters	Surgeon	Master	Master	Boys & Artillery	B. O Rifles	Rank & File -
High. Thru	"	"	"	1	1	41	8	3	1	1	1	1	2	4	41	24	1139
Artillery Regt	"	"	"	1	1	8	3	3	1	1	1	1	4	44	11	334	
Gen. Staff	"	"	"	1	1	3	7	-	-	-	3	-	4	17	12	226	
Artillery Regt	"	"	"	1	1	3	8	3	1	1	1	3	4	43	13	1334	
Artillery Regt	"	"	"	1	1	4	7	1	1	"	"	1	1	48	11	447	
Gen. Staff	"	"	"	1	1	6	"	"	"	"	1	3	-	14	7	141	
Artillery Regt	"	"	"	1	1	1	3	"	"	"	1	"	"	8	3	65	
Artillery Regt	"	"	"	1	1	1	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	2	29	
Artillery Regt	"	"	"	1	1	1	1	"	"	"	"	"	"	2	2	29	

GENERAL RETURN OF GERMAN AUXILIARIES WHO SURRENDERED AT SABATOGA, OCTOBER 17, 1777.  
(ORIGINAL IN F. G. ROSENGAERTEN'S COLLECTION.)

pages, 1775, that it was translated into five languages, and reprinted twice by Mirabeau, in *L'Espion dévalisé*, Chapter 16, pp. 195-209, and in *L'Essai sur le despotisme*, pp. 509-518, Paris, Le Gay, 1792, and Mirabeau himself speaks of it in his *Lettres de Vincennes* on March 14, 1784, and March 24, 1786. A reply to it, *Conseils de la raison*, was published in Amsterdam in 1777, by Smidorf, supposed to be inspired by the minister of the Elector of Hesse Cassel, Schlieffen, and to it Mirabeau replied in return in his *Réponse aux Conseils de la Raison*. All of these and other pamphlets, such as Raynal's on the side of the Americans, are now forgotten, but Franklin's clever skit continues to be reprinted and read, and to keep alive the feeling against the German princes who sent their soldiers to fight under the British flag. However, the fact remains that it was through these Germans that America got many good citizens from their ranks, and better still, many of those who went home, wrote of this country in a way that quickened emigration, in which, indeed, some of them took their part later on.

To this and similar attacks the Elector, through his minister, Schlieffen, made answers in the Dutch newspapers, then the most largely sold, because they were free from censorship. Abbé Raynal, then an accepted historical authority, supported Mirabeau's attack by one that was met by Schlieffen in 1782. Kapp says Franklin himself both inspired and drew from this flood of French pamphlets against Great Britain and its German allies; but Kapp attributes this Hohendorff letter not to Franklin, but to some French pamphleteer of Mirabeau's circle, and says it was revived by Löher at the time of the Knownothing agitation, and attributed to a St. Louis paper, although its falsity was shown in an article printed in the *New Military Journal*, Darmstadt, 1858, No. 14.

It was, as Bancroft tells us, a Count Schaumburg who acted as the go-between of the British Ministry, who made unsuccessful offers of pay for troops to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, dated November 26, 1777; was that known to Franklin when he wrote his letter in the name of Count Schaumburg? No doubt he chose it in full consciousness that it would be familiar to his European readers, who would thoroughly enjoy seeing the English agent thus serving as a thin disguise for the Hessian Prince, and the indignation excited by this clever and effective bit of satire, would be directed alike against master and man, against Prince and Agent, together trading for soldiers.



THE VETERAN 1826.





## CHAPTER IV.

### GERMAN SOLDIERS IN THE FRENCH SERVICE.



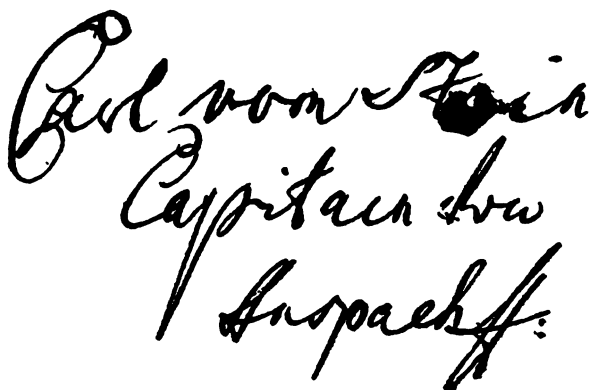
**I**N the French service under Rochambeau there were many German soldiers, and Rattermann in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, Vol. 13, 1881, gives an account of them, notably the Zweibrücken Regiment, of which two Princes or Counts of that name were respectively Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel. It is worth noting that Lafayette wrote to Washington of a visit to them in

Zweibrücken long after the American war, when he met "Old Knyp" and officers who had served both with and against him there. There was a battalion from Trier in the Saintonge Regiment under Custine, like himself from Lothringen. There were Alsacians and Lothringers in light companies attached to the Bourbonnais and Soissonnais Regiments. There were many Germans in the Duke de Lauzun's Cavalry Legion, whose names are printed from the records preserved in Harrisburg. In the army

that made part of d'Estaing's expedition against Savannah, in the autumn of 1779, there was an "Anhalt" Regiment, 600 strong; of individual German officers with Rochambeau, there were Count Fersen, his chief of staff, Freiherr Ludwig von Closen Haydenburg, his Adjutant, Captain Gau, his Chief of Artillery, and a Strasburg Professor Lutz, his interpreter. The Count of Zwei Brücken (Deux Ponts), published his *American Campaigns* in Paris in 1786, and his pamphlet was translated and reprinted by Dr. Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Count Stedingk and Count Fersen both took service with Sweden, the latter to fall a victim to a popular outbreak, the former to take part in the Peace of Paris in 1814.

Von Closen returned to Europe, became an officer of the household of Marie Antoinette, and died in 1830, at Zwei-brücken. Custine rose to high command in the French Revolution, only to end his days on the guillotine; his biography has been printed both in French and German. Rattermann thinks at least one third of Rochambeau's army at Yorktown consisted of Germans, Alsacians, Lothringers and Swiss. Gen. Weedon, he says, was born in Hanover, served in the Austrian War, 1742-1781, and for his services at Dettingen was promoted first to Ensign and next to Lieutenant, coming in that rank to America in the Royal American Regiment under Bouquet. He became a Captain in the Third Virginia and Colonel of the First Virginia, and later a Brigadier General of the Continental Army. The Germans under Ewald were driven back by the Germans under Armand at Gloucester, Va., and in the siege of Yorktown, Deux Ponts led his Germans in the attack on a redoubt defended by Hessians, and at several points commands were given on both sides in German. Washington and the King of France both commended the

valor of the Zweibrücken Regiment. German soldiers held the trenches on both sides when the surrender was finally made. German regiments under the French and American flags received the surrender of German regiments Anspach and Hessian, serving under the British flag, and the officers and men joined in warm greetings; the Anspachers offered to serve with their countrymen in Lauzun's Legion, an offer declined as a violation of the terms of capitulation. The German novelist, Sealsfield, in his story *Morton*, Stuttgart, 1844, describes Steuben's



Carl von Stein  
Captain  
Anspach.

AUTOGRAPH OF CAPTAIN CARL VON STEIN.

share in this crowning victory. Mr. Julius F. Sachse has drawn from his store of material, a letter written by the Duke of Brunswick on February 8, 1783, to General Riedesel, in view of the return of his force to Germany, in which he says that as not half of his officers and subordinates can remain in active service at home, while many of them must be reduced in rank and more discharged altogether, all who can had better remain in America, as he would not burthen his people and his war budget with pensions for young and able-bodied men; he therefore

Ehe das Korps Amerika's Boden verließ und zur Rückkehr bei Quebeck eingeschifft wurde, hatte der Herzog C. W. F. an den General v. Riedesel Nachstehendes erlassen:

Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Herzog &c. Ob Wir zwar Unsern Generalmajor v. Riedesel schon unterm 23sten Decbr. 1780 mit der nöthigen Vorschrift versehen haben, wie er sich bei erfolgtem Frieden und Rückmarsche der seinem Kommando anvertrauten Truppen zu verhalten habe, so finden Wir doch nicht für überflüssig, da dieser Zeitpunkt nunmehr wirklich eingetreten ist, demselben in Wiedererinnerung zu bringen, daß Unsere Absichten schon in sich selbst erweisen, daß bei weitem nicht die Hälfte von denen jetzt vorhandenen Officiers und Unterofficiers in Activität

bleiben können, sondern der größte Theil reducirt werden müsse, wenn nicht Viele derselben sich entschließen sollten, entweder sich dorten zu etabliren, oder bei ihrer Zurückkunft den Abschied zu nehmen, um ihr Glück anderwärts zu suchen. Denn ob Wir Uns gleich nicht entäußern werden, alten und treu gedienten Officiers und Andern eine billig mäßige Pension auszusetzen, so sind Wir hingegen auch nicht gemeint, junge und rührige Leute zum Ruin Unserer Kriegescaffe mit einem Wartegelde zu vinculiren, um sie dadurch der Zeit und Gelegenheit zu berauben, ihr Glück anderwärts zu suchen, sondern Wir wollen ihnen lieber zu desto geschwinderer Beförderung desselben etwas aufopfern. Unser Generalmajor v. Riedesel wird demnach hierdurch authorisirt, nicht allein so viele Officiers, als dorten verbleiben wollen, und wenn es auch Staats-Officiers wären, zu entlassen, und mit Interims-Abschieden, welche nach eingelangtem Berichte von Uns selbst vollzogen sofort ausgewechselt werden sollen, zu versehen, sondern auch, daß sie die Verabschiedung verlangen mögen, selbige nach Möglichkeit und allenfalls mit Bewilligung einer 6 monatlichen Gage, die ihnen aus der Regimentscaffe auszusahlen, zu disponiren.

Die Unterofficiers und Gemeinen betreffend, so mögen von den Ersteren, so viel immer wollen, zurückbleiben, da sonst die jüngsten oder überzähligen

ORDER RELATIVE TO THE RETURN OF THE BRUNSWICK TROOPS, ISSUED FEBRUARY 8, 1783, BY DUKE CARL WILHELM FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

REPRODUCED FROM BRAUNSCHWEIGISCHES MAGAZIN 21STH STÜCK MAY 21, 1826. (FROM J. F. SACHSE COLLECTION.)

derselben, welche ihr Alter und Invalidität zur Pension nicht berechtigt, sich werden gefallen lassen müssen, wieder so lange als Gemeine zu dienen, bis sie nach und nach wieder avanciren können oder ihren Abschied erhalten. Die Gemeinen von der Infanterie marschiren höchstens zu 50, und die Dragoner zu 36 Mann — à Kompagnie — ein; welches vorzüglich Einländer seyn müssen. Jedoch ist den übrigen, welche in ihr Vaterland wieder zurückkehren und von dem freien Transporte profitiren wollen, die Rückkehr nicht zu verwehren; nur bleiben von solcher die Delinquenten und Verbrecher, wovon Unserm Generalmajor v. Kiedeser bei Absendung einiger Transporte namentliche Verzeichnisse zugesertiget sind, nach wie vor ausgeschlossen. Wie denn auch diejenigen, so sich durch außerordentliche Nachlässigkeit und schwere Verbrechen oder andere lächerliche Streiche während ihres dortigen Aufenthaltes ausgezeichnet haben, oder auch körperlicher Gebrechen halber zum Dienste unfähig geworden, gänzlich zurück zu lassen sind.

Sollten auch von den annoch vorhandenen Feldpredigern, Auditeurs, Regiments-, Staats- und Kompagnie-Chirurgen dorten ihr Unterkommen finden, oder ihr Glück annoch suchen wollen, so ist ihnen dazu der Weg auf keine Weise zu versperrt, sondern ihnen allen,

so viele ihrer sind, der Abschied zu ertheilen.

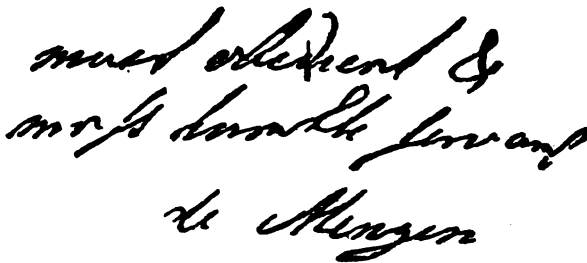
Braunschweig, den 8ten Febr. 1783.

C. W. F. F. z. B. u. L.

v. P r a u n.

Nach der Bekanntmachung dieses Erlasses in Amerika nahmen einige wenige junge Officiere, wie auch ein Feldprediger u. s. w. ihren Abschied vom Korps, und verblieben dort; und alle die Soldaten, die wegen Diebereien und Desertionen Regimentsstrafen erlitten, oder sonst sich leichtsinnig und ausschweifend betragen hatten, wurden von der Rückkehr abgewiesen und dort gelassen; und ihrer waren nicht Wenige. Hierzu die daselbst und auf der Seefahrt Verstorbenen gerechnet, so läßt sich folgern, daß das 1776 ausmarschirte Korps ziemlich zusammen geschmolzen zurückgekommen sey.

authorizes and recommends the discharge of officers, especially those of the staff, with six months pay out of the regimental funds: non-commissioned officers, too, should be encouraged to take their discharge and stay in America, so that the companies may be reduced to 50 in the infantry and 36 in the dragoons, and these must all be natives of Brunswick; all men under punishment, or charged with offences or physically unfitted, are to be left behind. Chaplains, pay-masters, surgeons, etc., who can make their living in America, were recommended to stay here; in this way, and with those who died in the service or deserted, the force returning to Brunswick was greatly reduced. This letter is printed in the *Brunswick Maga-*

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "must obediently & most humbly serve" followed by "de Mengin".

AUTOGRAPH OF LIEUT. COL. V. MENGIN.

*zine* of June 4, 1825; the same and earlier numbers contain extracts from Papet's Diary, which was then in possession of his son-in law, Captain Heusler, in Brunswick. It was not until April 29, 1783, that peace was officially proclaimed to the troops, and they sailed from Quebec on August 1 for a six weeks' voyage home.

Papet says that the deserters had a price put on their heads, and many of them were arrested and brought back, so that the Duke's orders were not very literally obeyed. On their return to Brunswick the Division was reduced to

an Infantry Regiment of two Battalions, and a small Dragoon Regiment. Among them were some black men enlisted by General Riedesel as drummers. Until 1806 the Dragoons served as guard of the palace — a sort of recognition of their services. Riedesel named one daughter "Canada," she died in Canada; and another "America" who died in 1856. Eelking adds to his *Life of Riedesel* a list of officers, and among them Chaplain Melsheimer figures as a deserter, in 1779; while Paymaster Thomas remained in America after the Peace of 1783, and so did Lt. v. Reizenstein, Lt. v. Konig, Ensign Langerjahn, Ensign Kolte, Lt. Bielstein, Lt. Conradi, Lt. v. Puiseger, and Ensign Specht, while some of those reported "deserters" and "missing," no doubt remained in America.



AUF FREMDEN BODEN. BRANDYWINE, SEPTEMBER 17, 1777.





THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



*Riedesel*



of the Duke of Rade-  
 burgh, who is a friend  
 of the cause, with the  
 Duke of Brunswick, there is no  
 mention or hint of recommend-  
 ing that his officers and men  
 should be encouraged to reside in  
 America. It has been said by  
 Mr. Berkley, then Governor of  
 New Brunswick, that

terred the  
 when the  
 lesser  
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 still real  
 wick, and  
 estranged  
 mans

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*Friedrich*



## CHAPTER V.

MAJOR-GENERAL V. RIEDESEL.



IT is curious that in Riedesel's *Life*, with its voluminous correspondence with the Duke of Brunswick, there is no mention of the letter recommending that his officers and men should be encouraged to remain in America. It looks very much as if Eelking thought it indiscreet to print it, as likely to invite hostile criticism, a caution that does not seem to have deterred the editor of the *Brunswick Magazine* in 1825, a time when the censor kept a sharp eye on any thing that might lessen the respect for the Landesvater. In its way it fully justifies Franklin's clever skit at the Elector of Hesse in the fictitious letter to his commander in America. There must still remain in Marburg and Cassel and Berlin and Brunswick, and in the private families of Germany, much interesting and valuable material, throwing light on the Germans who served under the British flag in the war of

American Independence. Is it not well worth while to get a complete descriptive catalogue of the papers in the Marburg Archives? The expense would not be great, and that once secured, it would not be difficult to have similar catalogues made for other public collections. In the meantime efforts could be made to print such items of these catalogues as are new, and to enlist the help of private owners of papers of the kind in securing copies to use in printing in part or in whole for historical students.

There is no better example of the interest in such material than the letters of Mme. Riedesel. They first became known to English readers through portions of them printed by Gen. Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, and reprinted in Silliman's *Tour in Canada*.

The original edition was intended only for the family, and General Riedesel himself died before it appeared. His widow survived until 1808. Her daughters "Canada" and "America," perpetuate in their names their place of birth. The only son died in 1854 and with a grandson the last of the family ended. Americans will always find interest in Mme. Riedesel's simple narrative of her life here. Madam Riedesel's *Letters* were first issued in 1799 in a privately printed edition for the family and their friends, and regularly published in 1800. The latest German edition is that published in Tübingen in 1881, in which the letters of Riedesel, together with brief biographies of husband and wife, and an account of their children are given. It is stated in the preface that of the 4,300 Brunswick soldiers led by Riedesel from Germany to America, only 2,600 returned home with him. Of the 1,700 lost to their native country, many were of course a gain for America. Riedesel died on January 5, 1800, after a harsh experience in the Napoleonic wars.

In his Excellency General Howe's orders  
 orders that no person presume on any account  
 to molest or inquire into the Property of  
 person or property —  
 By order of his Excellency  
 The Secretary of the War, Mr. George Washington  
 Secretary of the War  
 adjutant

SAFE CONDUCT SIGNED BY DONOP AND REISTER.

General Stryker in the appendix to his *History of the Battle of Trenton* prints (p. 396) the pretended letter from the Elector of Hesse in which there is mention of the losses at Trenton, and (p. 401) General Heister's report of that battle, and (p. 403) the real letter written by the Prince of Hesse to Knyphausen, dated Cassel, June 16, 1777, in which he speaks of the painful shock, and directs a Court of Inquiry to investigate and a court-martial to try those responsible, and another of April 23, 1779, insisting on a detailed explanation of the Captains, and others as to the finding of the original court. These proceedings continued until a final verdict was arrived at in New York in January, 1782, accompanied by a petition for mercy for those inculpated but surviving. Rall and Dechow had paid the penalty with their lives. This was signed (among others) by Schlieffen in April, 1782, and thus that incident was closed by the Elector's pardon to the survivors, of the penalty imposed by the court-martial. The actual correspondence consisted of Gen. v. Heister's report, dated New York, January 5, 1777, answered by the Elector on April 7, regretting that Rall should have been entrusted with a post to which he was not entitled by seniority or service. That Kapp is mistaken in crediting the pretended letter of the Elector to Mirabeau, is best shown by comparing his wordy *Avis aux Hessois*, with the short, sharp, pungent letter that bears internal evidence of Franklin's master hand. Reprinted by Ford and Stryker and Bigelow and Tyler, it is easily accessible, while the *Avis aux Hessois* of Mirabeau is much less known, and may be of interest as one of the forgotten pamphlets of the man who later on played such a leading part in the French Revolution, yet failed to do for his country a tithe of the good that Franklin did for America. Still, it must not be forgotten that

THE





He included in an appendix to his *History of the* (1780) (p. 379) the pretended letter from Franklin to the Elector, in which there is mention of the loss of the letter. General Heister's report of that letter is in the appendix to the real letter written by the Prince of Orange to the Elector, dated Cassel, June 16, 1777, in which he speaks of the printed snook, and directs a Court-martial to be held, and a court-martial to try these rebels. On January 23, 1779, insisting on a detailed explanation of the Captains, and others as to the meaning of the original court. These proceedings continued until a final verdict was arrived at in New York in January, 1782, and a petition for mercy for those included in the petition. Rail and Dechow had paid the penalty with their lives. This was signed (among others) by the Elector in April, 1782, and thus that incident was closed. The Elector's pardon to the survivors, of the court-martial. The actual correspondence consisted of Gen. v. Heister's report, dated New York, January 5, 1777, answered by the Elector on April 7, regretting that Rail should have been entrusted with a post to which he was not entitled by seniority or service. That Kapp is mistaken in crediting the pretended letter of the Elector to Mirabeau, is best shown by comparing his wordy *Avís aux Hessois*, with the short, sharp, pungent letter that bears internal evidence of Franklin's master hand. Reprinted by Ford and Stryker and Bigelow and Tyler, it is easily accessible, while the *Avís aux Hessois* of Mirabeau is much less known, and may be of interest as one of the forgotten pamphlets of the man who later on played such a leading part in the French Revolution, yet who did for his country a tithe of the good that Franklin did for America. Still, it must not be forgotten that

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**FRIEDRICH II.**

B. AUG. 14, 1720; D. OCT. 31, 1785.

**LANDGRAF VON HESSEN.**

THE GERMAN RULER WHO SOLD 17,000 HESSIANS TO THE BRITISH FOR 22 MILLIONS  
OF THALER FOR SERVICE AGAINST THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

COURTESY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.



Mirabeau was one of the earliest French advocates of American independence, and that his *Avis aux Hessois* was a warning note, the opening of a war of words, of a long drawn out battle of pamphlets, in which the American cause was fought for by French allies on the one side, and on the other by Germans in the pay of English and Hessian authorities. Undoubtedly Mirabeau's influence led Beaumarchais to his busy efforts to supply men and provisions and munitions of war for the American cause, culminating largely, no doubt through Franklin's efforts, in the alliance which played so great a part in the final result.

Of even greater value, however, is Schiller's eloquent protest in his *Kabale und Liebe* against the sale of German soldiers to Great Britain to be used against America. Frederick the Great denounced his cousin of Hesse for selling his subjects to the English as one sells cattle to be dragged to the shambles. Napoleon made it one of his reasons for overthrowing the house of Hesse Cassel and making the country part of the Kingdom of Westphalia over which his brother reigned. Lowell praises Mirabeau's pamphlet as an eloquent protest against the rapacity of the German princes, who sold their subjects to Great Britain, and a splendid tribute to the patriotism of the Americans. Fortunately the large number of Germans who served in the American army on the patriot side, from Steuben and De Kalb down to the humblest soldiers, greatly helped to secure American independence. Although Franklin's letter is printed in both Ford and Bigelow's *Lives and Works of Franklin*, it may be of interest to reproduce the original French, and the pamphlet by Mirabeau, *Avis aux Hessois*, the first of a long series of pamphlets including those by Schlieffen on the German side, and by Raynal on the American side, for in their day these were most

effective weapons in that war of pamphlets and books, which greatly strengthened the American cause abroad. The originals are in the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library, part of the wealth of original papers and pamphlets and books collected by Mr. Bancroft as material for his history and now owned by the Lenox Library. Their free use for students of American history is one of the advantages of this present generation.





## CHAPTER VI.

### AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN SOURCES.



THE recent publication in a German translation of Lowell's "Hessians" marks the change of German sentiment towards America. The translator, Major von Verschuer, formerly a member of the German General Staff, in his preface calls attention to the successive changes of opinion as to the hiring of the troops of one country for pay and service in another.

Both Germany and Switzerland had done this very thing from early times, witness the Swiss Guard in France, the Papal Guard in Rome, the German troops in English service, in suppressing the Stuart rising in 1745, and in other parts of the British Empire. It was the outbreak of liberal ideals preceding the French Revolution, with its flood of new ideas, that first led to honest denunciation of the employment of German hirelings by England in America. Major von Verschuer pays tribute to the services of Frederick Kapp and Edward J. Lowell for their historical re-

search and their collection for the first time in an orderly way of the facts relating to the German troops sent to this country by England. Whatever the crimes of their princes, officers and men did their duty, and undoubtedly Germany owes much of its rise in greatness, in its fierce struggle against Napoleon, to the lessons learned by its involuntary representatives who had served in America. To-day Major von Verschuer is heartily thanked by the leading German historical reviews for making Lowell's book known and accessible in translation to German readers, as throwing a new light on German history of the eighteenth century by its careful summary of the treaties by which the German princes hired their soldiers to Great Britain to prevent American independence. They were not only "Hessians," for Brunswick and Anspach and Bayreuth and Anhalt and Waldeck also sent their soldiers. Riedesel the well-known General, whose wife's letters are among the most interesting productions of personal experience during our Revolutionary War, was a Brunswicker. The Hessians, however, came in larger number than any of the others, and their General Knyphausen, as commander of the whole German force, naturally attracted attention to his division of Hessians, and just as naturally "Hessian" was the name given to all the German soldiers serving in the British Army here. Frederick the Great spoke very contemptuously of his Hessian cousin for selling his soldiers to England, but then Frederick of Prussia was angry with Frederick of Hesse for refusing to sell him troops, so that his virtuous indignation was not without some personal resentment of his own.

Brunswick sent five thousand seven hundred and twenty-three men, of whom three thousand and fifteen did not return home. Hesse Cassel sent sixteen thousand nine

Fig.





of their action for the first time in an orderly manner. The facts relating to the German troops sent to this country by England. Whatever the crimes of their prince, the officers and men did their duty, and undoubtedly Germany owes much of its rise in greatness, in its fierce struggle against Napoleon, to the lessons learned by its involuntary troops in America who had served in America. To-day Major von Versmerten is handsomely thanked by the leading German historical writers for making Lowell's book known and interesting in its relation to German readers, as throwing a new light on German history of the eighteenth century by its careful study of the treaties by which the German princes lent their soldiers to Great Britain to prevent American independence. They were not only "Hessian," but they were from Anspach and Bayreuth and Ansbach and Bamberg and their soldiers. Riedesel the well-known general whose letters are among the most interesting of personal experience during our Revolution was a Brunswicker. The Hessians, however, were a larger number than any of the others, and the general Knyphausen, as commander of the whole German force, naturally attracted attention to his division of Hessians, and just as naturally "Hessian" was the name given to all the German soldiers serving in the British Army here. Frederick the Great spoke very contemptuously of his Hessian cousin for selling his soldiers to England, but then Frederick of Prussia was angry with Frederick of Hesse for refusing to sell him troops, so that his virtuous indignation was not without some personal element of his own.

Frederick sent five thousand seven hundred and twenty Hessians, of whom three thousand and fifteen did not survive. Hesse Cassel sent sixteen thousand nine

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**WILHELM IX.**

B. JAN. 8, 1743 ; D. JULY 27, 1821.

**LANDGRAF VON HESSEN-HANAU, 1764-1785.**

**KURFÜRST VON HESSEN, 1785-1821.**

IN 1776 HE SOLD THE HANAU REGIMENTS TO THE BRITISH FOR SERVICE AGAINST  
THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

COURTESY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



hundred and ninety-two, of whom six thousand five hundred did not return. Hesse Hanau sent two thousand four hundred and twenty-two, of whom nine hundred and eighty-one did not return. Anspach Bayreuth sent two thousand five hundred and fifty-three, of whom one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight did not return. Waldeck sent one thousand two hundred and twenty-five, of whom seven hundred and twenty did not return. Anhalt Zerbst sent one thousand one hundred and fifty-two, of whom one hundred and sixty-eight did not return. The whole number of these German soldiers sent to America from 1776 to 1782 reached a total of thirty thousand and sixty-seven, and of these twelve thousand five hundred and sixty-two did not return. The loss by death was seven thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, so that there was a balance of four thousand eight hundred and eight who remained in America and helped to swell the large accession of Germans in their new home. Undoubtedly too they, as well as the soldiers who returned home, helped to pave the way for the rapid increase of emigration from Germany to America, which was so marked a feature in the growth and development of the new nation, for Germany sent its representatives to every part of the United States.

To-day Germany, from the Emperor down, takes pride in the good record made by the German soldiers in America, and Major von Verschuer is receiving high and well-deserved commendation for bringing out, in his translation of Lowell's "Hessians," the gallantry of German soldiers and officers in their long and arduous campaigns in America. The unfortunate result of the attack on Fort Mercer at Red Bank is particularly dwelt on as an example of German heroism, for Donop, who commanded

the attacking force and fell at its head, in vain asked the English General for more artillery, and when it was refused with a sneer, went into action in obedience to orders which he knew must bring failure. Still it was a lesson of value in tactics, and it was learned in a way that did great honor to the Hessians for their blind obedience to commands, even wrong ones. The Germans learned from the Americans the value of sharpshooters, and applied this lesson with profit in the reorganization of their own army in their long struggle to free their country from the tyranny of Napoleon. Naturally too the German staff in its collection of all the material for German military history, welcomes the addition of Verschuer's translation of Lowell's "Hessians," for it makes known to the studious German officer of to-day the results of research in German archives that have hitherto been a sealed book alike to German and foreign students. No doubt before long German thoroughness will be applied to a reproduction from these German records of many valuable contributions to our history in the reports, journals, diaries, and letters of German officers and soldiers who served in this country in the American War of Independence.

If the Germans have something to learn from an American author of their soldiers in America, we Americans have much to learn from the Germans. Their maps were admirable, and one recently reproduced<sup>1</sup> was welcomed as a valuable addition to local history, for it gave the exact spot of several engagements in the operations around Whitemarsh that were nowhere so well recorded. Then too in the "Diaries" of Wiederhold and Popp, recently printed for the first time,<sup>2</sup> there are many facts of value

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<sup>1</sup>*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, April, 1902.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

and interest, the personal records of "our friends the enemy," through whose eyes we can now see very clearly what the other side looked at from their point of view. The recent revival of German interest in America is well attested in the timely publication of Verschuer's translation of Lowell's "Hessians" and in the attention paid to it by German journals.

The value and interest of Major von Verschuer's translation of Lowell's book may best be found in the fact that a second edition has been called for — an honor not paid to the original, although it has for some years been appreciated by our own historical students. Perhaps when a new "historical novel" is constructed out of the material gathered in its pages (and we commend Madame von Riedesel as a heroine, with the two Newport ladies who married Hessian officers and lived and died in Germany), the "Hessians" may awaken interest enough in the American public to secure for Lowell's exhaustive researches the same interest here that has been shown at once in Germany, in historical and literary and military journals, in the translation which makes Lowell's name better known in Germany than in his own country. He died long before receiving his reward for his labors.

Edward J. Lowell, whose "Hessians in America" has been translated into German, is the subject of a memoir by A. Lawrence Lowell in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1895" (Second Series, Vol. IX.). He was born in Boston in 1845, graduated at Harvard in 1867, collected material from the Archives in Germany, printed reports in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society" and in the *New York Times* that afterwards supplied much of the material for his book. Later in 1892 he published a book, "The Eve

of the French Revolution," which showed his thorough knowledge of that field of historical research. He died in 1894, leaving unfinished much material that he had gathered for further works. He was a contributor of valuable articles, mostly on historical subjects, to *Scribner's*, the *Atlantic*, and other periodicals. He was a careful student and a sound historian, and his book well deserves the unusual compliment of translation into German and publication in Germany.

"The Hessians and the other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War," by Edward J. Lowell, New York, 1884, pp. 328, is the full title of the book that first and best gave the accurate details of the Hessians and other Germans who served under the British flag. This is the book that has recently been translated into German by Major von Verschuer, under the title of "Die Hessen nach dem Englischen von Edward J. Lowell, von O. C. Freiherrn von Verschuer, Major z. D. Brunswick und Leipsic: Verlag von Richard Sattler, 1901, pp. 250."

Another important source of contemporary information is in the Riedesel letters — those of the wife of the General of the Brunswick troops serving here. With their children she was his companion in his campaigns and during his imprisonment after Burgoyne's surrender. The letters were first privately printed in Berlin in 1799, then in successive editions in Germany and in America, so that they are now easily accessible. "The Memoirs, Letters and Journals of General Riedesel," translated from the German of Von Eelking by William L. Stone, were published in Albany in 1868 by Munsell in two volumes.

The story of Madame Riedesel's letters is characteristic. Printed in Berlin in 1801 — an earlier edition was pri-





*The French Revolution, 1789-1804.*

the French Revolution," which showed his thorough knowledge of that field of historical research. He died in 1881, having amassed much material that he had gathered from his other works. He was a contributor of valuable articles on historical subjects, to *Scribner's*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and other periodicals. He was a careful student of the sound history, and his book well deserves the high commendation of translation into German and publication in Germany.

"The Hessians and the other German Auxiliaries of the British in the Revolutionary War," by Edward J. Lowell, New York, 1881, 1 p. 728, is the full title of the book that most of them gave the accurate details of the Hessians and other Germans who served under the British. This is the book that has recently been translated into German by Major von Verschuer, under the title of "Die Hessischen und Englischen von Edward J. Lowell, übersetzt von Major von Verschuer, Major z. D. Braunschweig, 1901, Verlag von Richard Sattler, 1901.

One of the most important source of contemporary information is in the Poeschel letters — those of the wife of the General of the Prussian troops, serving France. With their child, in she was his companion in his campaigns and during his imprisonment after Burgoyne's surrender. The letters were first privately printed in Berlin in 1799, then in successive editions in Germany and in America, so that they are now easily accessible. "The Memoirs, Letters and Journals of General Riedesel," translated from the German of Von Folking by William L. Stone, were published in New York in 1878 by Munsell in two volumes.

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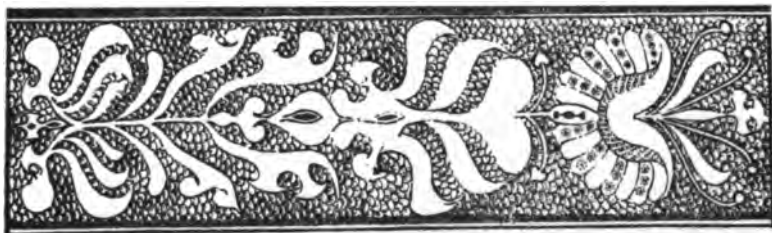


*From  
Magdalena Vinneman de Friedel  
Mee de Masfuer*



vately printed for the family only in 1799 — they were frequently reprinted in Germany, and in a very complete edition in 1881 by Mohr in Freiburg and Tübingen. These letters first became known to English readers through portions of them printed by General Wilkinson in his "Memoirs," and reprinted in Silliman's "Tour to Canada in 1819," Hartford, 1820, and in a second edition in 1824, and in full in 1827. Stone printed through Munsell of Albany his translation of the letters of Madame Riedesel in 1867, a much fuller and more satisfactory edition than that published in 1827 in Hartford.

"The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, 1776 to 1783," by Max von Eelking, translated and abridged from the bulky German original in two volumes published in Hanover in 1863, was published by Munsell in Albany in 1893. Von Eelking also published in Leipzig in 1854 the "Correspondence of General von Riedesel," and in 1856 his "Life and Writings of Riedesel" in three volumes, full of interest and importance for the light it throws on the details of the service of the Brunswick troops in their campaigns in America.





## CHAPTER VII.

### FRANKLIN IN GERMANY.



**F**RANKLIN wrote on June 13, 1766, from London to his wife: "To-morrow I set out with my friend, Dr. (now Sir John) Pringle, on a journey to Pymont, where he goes to drink the waters. We must be back at furthest in eight weeks. I purpose to leave him at Pymont and visit some of the principalities nearest to it, and call for him again when the time

for our return draws nigh."<sup>1</sup> In the collection of Franklin Papers at the American Philosophical Society is the original or perhaps retained copy (how did busy men find time then to keep copies of even their letters to their wives?) of this letter, and another of October 11, in which he writes to his wife: "I received your kind letter of

<sup>1</sup> Sparks's Franklin, Vol. VII., p. 320.

August 26. Scarce anyone else wrote to me by that opportunity. I suppose they imagin'd I should not be returned from Germany"; and on December 13: "I wonder you had not heard of my return from Germany. I wrote by the August packet and by a ship from Holland just as I was coming over."

When Francis Hopkinson, son of Franklin's friend, reached London late in July, 1766, to begin his studies at the Temple, he found that Franklin was in Germany, and he had to wait his return before he could advise his father of the kindly welcome given him, due perhaps as much to his own success at the College of Philadelphia as to his father's recommendation. Franklin was very proud of the college, largely his work, and of the remarkable young men who, with Hopkinson, belonged to its first graduates. Sparks says in a note on p. 326 of Vol. VII. of his "Franklin's Works"; "Franklin had recently made a tour in Germany, accompanied by Sir John Pringle, as intimated in a preceding letter. He visited Hannover, Göttingen, and some of the other principal cities and universities, and received many flattering attentions from distinguished persons. The following letter affords a favorable testimony of the estimation in which he was held by learned men in Germany." The original Latin is printed in Sparks; the following is a rough translation:

*"S. P. D. John Frederick Hartmann to Dr. Franklin.*

"Often the pleasant recollection returns of the day I saw you and talked with you for the first time. I regret extremely that I had neither time nor opportunity to show you electrical experiments worthy of you. Do not think I was at all to blame. Prince Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, with whom I have had much correspondence, counted on meeting you on your visit to Germany, and regrets that he could not see you at Göttingen, and sends you his greetings. He reached Göttingen on the very day you left it and thus lost the hope of seeing you. Meantime a German prince asks me to put up lightning rods on his estates, and I ask you for a precise description of your plans in America. You shall have all the credit and honor. I want to complete as far as I can a history of electricity, and as yours is the first name on that subject, I hope to give an account worthy of your experiments."

Dated with the usual compliments, "Hannover, 1777, Calends of October."

Parton says in his "Franklin" (Vol. 1., p. 492): "Sir John Pringle was the Queen's physician and one of Franklin's most intimate companions," and (p. 506) "probably through him Franklin found means to forward papers to the King," and (p. 523) through him Franklin presented to the Queen a sample of American silk grown in Pennsylvania. He also (p. 533) refers to their journey together in Holland and (p. 552) to his first visit in Paris with Sir John Pringle. Hale's "Franklin and France" says (Vol. I., p. 3): "The year before [1766] Franklin and Sir John Pringle had travelled together very pleasantly in the Netherlands and Germany. In 1767 they paid a six weeks' visit to Paris." Bigelow in his "Franklin's Works" (Vol. III., p. 468), after giving Franklin's letter to his wife of June 13, 1766, says: "It is much to be regretted that we have no journal or any satisfactory account of Dr. Franklin's visit to the Continent this summer. He seems to have made no notes, and to have written no letters during his absence, which are calculated in the least to satisfy our curiosity. We have, however, a glimpse of him and of his companion while at Göttingen, which illustrates the very distinguished and durable impression made in whatsoever society he appeared." In the "Biography of John D. Michaelis," p. 102, occurs the following statement, which was translated from the fly-leaf of a volume in the Huntington collection of Frankliniana in the Metropolitan Museum of New York: "In the summer of 1766 I had the opportunity of making two agreeable acquaintances. Pringle and Franklin came to Göttingen, and were presented to me by student Münchhausen. I once had a curious conversation with Franklin at the table, when he

dined with me. We talked much about America, about the savages, the rapid growth of the English colonies, the growth of the population, its duplication in twenty-five years, etc. I said that when I was in London in 1741 I might have learned more about the condition of the Colonies by English books and pamphlets, had I then thought seriously of what I had even then expressed to others, that they would one day release themselves from England. People laughed at me, but still I believed it. He answered me with his earnest and expressive face: 'Then you were mistaken. The Americans have too much love for their mother country.' I said, 'I believe it, but almighty interest would soon outweigh that love or extinguish it altogether.' He could not deny that this was possible, but secession was impossible, for all the American towns of importance, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, could be destroyed by bombardment. This was unanswerable. I did not then suspect that I was speaking to the man who, a few years later, outraged in England, would take such an active part in the accomplishment of my contradicted prophecy." To this was appended the following note, presumably by student Münchhausen: "At that time I was studying in Göttingen, and had the opportunity of knowing both men. I remember well that Franklin, and I know not wherefore, was much more interesting to me than Pringle. Just in that summer also Lessing came to Göttingen. He, our otherwise great countryman, was far from pleasing me as well as both these Englishmen. These Britons, decried for their pride, were very sociable and well informed. The German, on the contrary, was very haughty and controversial."

Bigelow also adds the story, told in Hale's "Franklin," that Pringle resigned the presidency of the Royal Society



rather than yield to the King's wish in a matter in which the King was wrong in his desire to forward the interests of a favored friend at the expense of that venerable scientific body.

The "Life of Sir John Pringle," by Andrew Kippis, prefaced to six of his discourses, London, 1783, attests Franklin's wise choice and good fortune in having such a friend and fellow-traveller. We meet Michaelis in "The American Revolution and German Literature," by John A. Walz, Harvard University, reprinted from *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XVI., Baltimore, 1901. He says: "John D. Michaelis, the great Orientalist, met Franklin at Göttingen in 1766, and in his autobiography speaks very pleasantly about his American acquaintance." Michaelis was very glad, however, to get his son an appointment as surgeon with the Hessian division of soldiers sent to America by the British government when the Revolutionary War was being waged, for the pay was very good and he was promised employment for life on his return. When his wife met her husband on his return from his American expedition, she wrote home of the wretched spectacle of the troops shipped to America, and her contempt for the Elector who sold his people to get money with which to build palaces and provide for his extravagant way of living in them.

In a Doctor's Thesis by an American we find mention of Franklin in Germany. "The Relation of German Publicists to the American war of Independence, 1775-1783. Inaugural Dissertation for the Doctor's Degree of the Philosophic Faculty of the University of Leipsic, submitted by Herbert P. Gallinger, Amherst, Massachusetts, Leipsic, 1900," is a pamphlet in German of seventy-seven pages, with an additional page giving the details of Dr.

Gallinger's life. On p. 8, etc., he says: "Franklin visited Germany in 1766, and in Göttingen, where he met Achenwall and Schlözer, awakened interest for the Colonies." In a foot-note he adds: "Achenwall published in the *Hannoverian Magazine*, beginning of 1767, p. 258, etc., 'Some Observations on North America and the British Colonies, from verbal information furnished by Mr. B. Franklin.'" At the close, the struggle between the mother country and the colonies is described entirely from the American point of view. It is clear that Achenwall was convinced by Franklin. In closing he says: "I doubt not that other men of learning in this country have used their acquaintance with this honored man [Franklin] as well as I. Could they be persuaded to give the public their noteworthy conversation with him, it would be doing the public a great benefit." These observations were reprinted twice, in 1769 at Frankfurt and Stuttgart, and in 1777 at Helmstedt. They appear to be the only account of the dispute over the constitutional questions at issue in America in the German language published before 1776.

Mr. Gallinger's Thesis gives quite an exhaustive account of the later publications in Germany on the American struggle for independence, and supplies too the names of many men famous in German Literature who heartily supported the American side. At Cassel, the capital of the Elector of Hesse, who sent the largest contingent of German soldiers to America to fight for the British supremacy, there was a group of writers defending the American right to appeal to arms. A succession of serial publications by Archenholz and Schlözer and other Göttingen professors, who had met Franklin there ten years before the outbreak of the Revolution, gave in full the

official and other papers issued by Americans and their friends in England and on the Continent, even more fully than those of the English Government and its defenders. Brunswick too, whence the next largest body of soldiers, under Riedesel, came to America, had writers and publishers ready to defend the cause of the Americans. Great Britain employed German pamphleteers to justify its treatment of the rebellious colonies. Schlözer printed letters from America written in 1757, predicting the subsequent struggle and attributing the outbreak of the Revolution to the prohibition of the coasting trade, and its continuance to ambitious factions, not a majority of the people. Franklin's influence, even with the Göttingen professors and publicists, was not powerful and enduring enough to prevent most of them from taking the side of the British government in their writings.

The close relation between the Hanoverian government and that of Great Britain, the King himself Elector of Hanover, may well account for the line taken by his Göttingen professors, for it was a time of personal government in both countries, and the wish of the German sovereign was absolute with all his subjects. From Berlin, sometimes under the pseudonym of Philadelphia, came pamphlets favoring the American cause, while Hamburg and Frankfurt published works on America of all sorts of political views. One author said that Franklin spoke with true insight of the American cause. Others referred to his published writings as of the highest authority. Translations of his scientific and other papers were published in Germany, where his name and fame were familiar.

Berlin at that time had two newspapers, which appeared every other day, each of four octavo pages, and in both of them there was a strong tone of sympathy for the American

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

FROM A COPPERPLATE, AFTER A DRAWING BY L. C. DE CARMONTELLE.



cause and hope for its success. The English too had, of course, their organs and agencies in Germany, but they were mostly limited to a republication of official reports and legal arguments in support of the mother country.



The Americans had on their side the poets, who sang away lustily in their behalf. Schlözer, one of the leading editors of news of and about the American struggle, and strongly in favor of British rule, claimed that the whole loss of German soldiers sold for service in America was only eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-three. Kapp corrects this and makes it twelve thousand five hundred and sixty-two from official data, and the little difference shows that Schlözer must have had access to them too.

No sooner was the war over, than Sprengel, professor in Halle, published its history, in 1784, and it was reprinted in that and the following years in frequent editions. Berlin followed the hint of Frederick the Great in showing hostility to England by expressions of friendship for America. Kant sympathized with America, and at Königsberg in 1782 was issued a book that radically justified the Revolution. Assuming its success, the German publicists gave a great deal of attention to the industrial results of independence and foresaw the advantages sure to spring from it. Perhaps the most important book was Moser's "America After the Peace of 1783," in three volumes, Leipsic, 1784, mostly geographical and statistical details, but in it the learned Professor gravely charges Franklin and his associates with perjury towards the mother country. Of course, the question of public opinion in a country so subdivided as Germany then was is quite unlike that which exists to-day, yet it is clear that in spite of the influence of professors and editors largely enlisted from one motive or another in support of the English cause, there was a strong and lively sympathy for that of America. Perhaps a knowledge of the Germans sent against them may have justified their hope of a favorable result—at least Freneau's version of Rivington's "Last Will" shows the popular opinion, confirmed by current report, in America:

"To Baron Knyphausen, his heirs and assigns,  
I bequeath my old Hock and my Burgundy wines.  
To a true Hessian drunkard, no liquors are sweeter,  
And I know the old man is no foe to the creature."

The German commander who fell at Trenton, Colonel Rahl, was notorious for his love of the table, and his neg-

ligence to insure the safety of his post is attributed to his plentiful potations on Christmas Eve.

A recent paper by Walz, of Harvard, attests the influence of Franklin in Germany. Klopstock and Herder, Jacobi and Heyne, Schiller and Goethe, all praise him.

Lafayette in a letter to Franklin, written in 1786, tells him that in a recent tour in Germany a thousand questions were asked about Franklin. Numerous applications were made to him for commissions in the American army, and his failure to secure them no doubt sharpened the attacks on him. Schlözer, who had

met Franklin in Göttingen, counted himself fortunate in profiting by public interest in his publications on the struggle between England and America.

The story of the German soldier sent by his sovereign to America, of life there, and of the return home is told in many versions by contemporary dramatists, from Schiller in his "Kabale und Liebe," through a long list gathered by Walz in his exhaustive paper. Some of them make quite a feature of the American wives brought to Germany by German officers. There are at least two families of Newport, R. I., who still keep in touch with their German kinsfolk, descendants of the marriage of two Newport

August Endwig Schöler's  
Professur in Göttingen  
an kais. k. k. Universität in Göttingen  
Petersburg, der kais. k. k. Universität in Wien, und  
der kais. k. k. Universität in St. Petersburg.

## Briefwechsel

mit  
historischen und politischen  
Inhalts

Erster Theil, Erst I-VI,  
1776.



Eintr. Ausgabe.

Göttingen,  
im Verlage der Göttingischen Buchhandlung  
1780.



girls to our friends the enemy, and several Southern families have had the same extension of their foreign relations. The number of German soldiers remaining and marrying in this country must have been quite large, for there are many families of note thus descended from Hessians.



Franklin was too busy a man to make much reference to so brief an incident in his long and active life as his short and only visit to Germany. From it and through his intercourse with Göttingen professors, all men who contributed to and helped make what there was of public opinion in Germany, he undoubtedly influenced it, all unconsciously perhaps, and thus helped to make

the judgment of the people and their rulers favorable to the Americans in their struggle for independence. Little as Frederick the Great liked liberty and rebellion to gain it, his hostility to the German princes who sold their soldiers to Great Britain, after refusing them to him, counted as a factor in favor of America both during the Revolutionary War and later. The treaty between Prussia and the United States was a valuable recognition of their right to enter the family of nations, and there can be little doubt that Franklin gladly saw in it one of the results of his visit to Germany, and of his influence upon German publicists. His own success in securing the powerful help of France by the Treaty of Alliance, which gave this country in its hour of need both men and money, and in making a treaty of peace with Great Britain, almost in spite of France, may well justify the belief that he too inspired the Ger-

mans with a desire to atone for their profitable alliance with Great Britain by an early recognition of the American Republic as soon as its independence was acknowledged.





## CHAPTER VIII.

### GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.



THE visit of Franklin in 1766, to the University of Göttingen, perhaps the first American of note there, has recently been much referred to. For many years all that was known of it was found in Sparks' "Franklin," where we see Franklin's letter to his wife, telling her of his intended visit, and a later letter reporting to her very briefly his return to

London. To it Sparks adds a Latin letter from one of the Göttingen professors, thanking him for his valuable suggestions on the study of electricity, and referring to his visit as a matter of great interest. Only recently an American, Dr. Gallinger, in his thesis for his Doctor's degree at Leipsic, gives extracts from the contemporary accounts of Franklin's short stay in Göttingen. Mr. L. Viereck, secretary of the newly organized union of old German students in America, in a later article gives a still more detailed account of Franklin's visit.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Americana Germanica.*

Franklin had a special interest in Germany, for as early as 1734 he published the first German newspaper issued in America, and from his press came a long series of publications in the German language. In 1766 he was famous for his electrical researches, and in Göttingen he was the guest of honor at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences. It was not until 1769 that Professor Achenwall, a noted publicist, reported in his journal, his conversation with Franklin during his visit to Göttingen, saying that Franklin quite denied Achenwall's anticipation that the colonies would soon attempt to secure independence, declaring that the people were too loyal, and the crown too powerful, for the English fleet could destroy all the American ports. Later other professors, Pütter and Michaelis, recorded their recollections of Franklin, the latter especially contrasting his kindly welcome of all who made his acquaintance, and the ill manners of Lessing, the great German author, then at the height of his fame as critic and dramatist. Franklin himself, so Viereck says, was greatly impressed by what he saw of a German University, and tried to bring some of the lessons he learned there into practical application in what is now the University of Pennsylvania. We know that he was practically the founder of the College of Philadelphia, and watched its growth from its earliest beginning, the proposed school of 1740, through the later stages of the academy of 1749, the college of 1751, the university of 1779, and the union of college and university under its present title in 1791.

Franklin, too, it is said in his eighty-first year, made the tiresome journey to Lancaster, to lay the corner stone of Franklin College, to which he made a gift of a thousand dollars, a proof of his strong interest in the plan of a higher educational establishment where Pennsylvania Germans could study in German.

The first American student in Germany was Benjamin Smith Barton, born in Lancaster in 1766—the year of Franklin's visit to Göttingen, where in 1789 Barton recorded his name first in the list of American students, took his degree in medicine in 1799, and on his return home became professor in the University of Pennsylvania, teaching here until 1815, and gaining honor as a member of the American Philosophical Society and by numerous publications. His thesis for his Göttingen Degree was published in German.<sup>1</sup>

The brothers Mühlenberg were also educated in Germany, but this was largely due to the old association of their father and grandfather with Halle. The Göttingen list of American students shows only one in 1812, and from that time to 1851 only a few names, not fifty in all that period.

In the University of Berlin between 1825 and 1850, there were fifty-four Americans matriculated. There were sixteen at Halle between 1826 and 1849, and two at Leipsic between 1827 and 1846. Only one hundred and sixteen Americans were matriculated in German universities in the first half of the nineteenth century, but among them were Ticknor, Bancroft, Cogswell, Calvert, Longfellow, Motley and others of lesser fame, but all still helping to bring to the New World some share of the methods of learning in the universities of Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Barton's thesis for his Doctor's Degree from the University of Göttingen was published in German by Professor Zimmerman of Brunswick, Germany, as well as several of his later scientific contributions, and his *Elements of Botany* was republished in London and in Russian in St. Petersburg. He kept up an active correspondence with the leading German scientists and dedicated one of his memoirs to Professor Blumenbach of Göttingen. He aided Pursh, a German botanist, in his excursions through Virginia and Carolina, in preparing his *Flora Americana Septentrionalis*, and in return the German named a genus *Bartonia* after his friend.

During the whole period of American growth, Germans educated in German universities, were coming to this country, and Pastorius, Mühlenberg, Schlatter and Kunze were all living in or near Philadelphia.

Kunze was for years a professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Later came Henry Vethake, long a professor, and for some years vice-provost of the university, and then a long line of Americans who had studied in German universities, and were teaching at the university and in other institutions. Of late years on an average, seven hundred American students are matriculated annually in German universities. German university graduates are settled in large numbers in this country, engaged in many pursuits, but mainly in professional work and especially in that of education. The debt due to Germany for its share in the world's scientific research is freely acknowledged, and in philology, chemistry, philosophy, economics, we are still her debtors.

The great difference between the German universities and those of this country may be said to begin with their numbers. In Germany there are twenty-two universities, dating back as far as 1385, 1409, 1419, 1456, 1457, and on through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — many of them formed by the union of two or more of very early date, or as in Strasburg, where in 1872 a new university was established on an old foundation of 1621.

In this country the last report of the Commissioner of Education gives 480 colleges and universities for men and 128 for women. Germany has 9 technical schools, the United States, 151, and 96 law schools, with proportionately numerous theological, dental, pharmaceutical and other special schools. Starting with this enormous disparity in numbers, it is easy to see why the German university does its work thoroughly and well.

The German university is a government institution, and a degree earned by long years of hard study and severe examinations is the invariable condition of admission to the government service and to all the learned professions and pursuits. Of late years the government has greatly increased the amount expended on the universities, and especially on the technical and scientific schools and laboratories. Instruction is the only business of the German universities; dormitories are unknown; only one German university, Tübingen, has a small endowment for dormitories for Protestant students. A very small share of the endowment of early times is still used to provide for the expenses of poor students, but in the main the student has to provide his own board and lodging. Freedom to teach is the privilege of the faculty—freedom to learn, that of the students. There is very little prescribed course of studies, and that little is mainly limited to the local students who mean to undertake local work, as teachers, doctors, clergymen, or in some other form of employment by the local government, for admission to all of these and, in fact, to every professional pursuit, is regulated by government. Once matriculated, and fresh from long years of hard work at the gymnasium, the student at a German university takes such courses as he likes, pays for those he chooses, attends or not as he likes, and waits for the examination to show what he has learned. Of course for special students in laboratories and for post-graduate students, the professors make suitable arrangements. German students come and go from and to one university after another, and apart from a compulsory attendance at their local university, they are free to take one or more terms at any other university, and such changes are the rule, not as with us the exception. In the absence of dormitories,

commons, and gymnasiums and athletic field sports, the German students join organizations, either the corps which make duelling their distinguishing mark, or unions, which don't. Between the two there exists a social barrier, very like that which separates the aristocracy, whether it be that of birth or wealth, from the plain folk. As all German life is largely regulated by the distinction between military and civilian, so the German university world is divided into the corps students and the *Burschenschaften* or non-duelling associations.

The students have no division into classes, but rank only according to their years of matriculation and attendance on lectures. They have no debating societies or secret societies, yet they have absolute freedom so long as they violate no police rules — and even then they are free from the control of the police, but must be tried in the courts of the universities, which have their own prisons. Their singing we have all heard of, and besides their song books, so frequently used in our own university and other singing clubs and societies, there is an amusing volume of "Prison Songs," composed by students serving the very short terms imposed, generally only a few days. Of course, in case of fatal duels, the survivor may be sent to a fortress, but the student like the soldier, is subject to a special code of laws far lighter than that of the outer world.

The German student as he is seen at Heidelberg or any of the universities in Germany, is very picturesque and attractive, but these holiday years are soon over, and the serious, sober, ambitious student, who is to make a famous professor, a great chemist, a learned philosopher, is early led to leave his old corps brethren and to devote himself to that pursuit on which he is to spend his life. The learned professor who on his deathbed sighed and regretted



that he had wasted any time on the second aorist, when he might have done something if he had devoted himself to the first, is typical of that single aim which has been the characteristic of German thoroughness. Our own American students who go to Germany well equipped by their work at home, are those who gain the best fruits of the rich harvest of learning stored in the German universities.





THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



UNIFORMS OF BRUNSWICK TROOPS.

	GRENADIER	V RHETZ RGT.	
PRINCE FRIEDRICH RGT.			V RIEDESEL RGT.



16.



17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### ACHENWALL'S OBSERVATIONS ON NORTH AMERICA, 1767.<sup>1</sup>



THE most complete work on the British colonies in North America is the summary historical and political by William Douglas, of which the second improved edition was published in London, 1760, in two octavo volumes. That doctor collected material for many years and was in America, and gives valuable intelligence, especially of the Colonies he visited, but

his book has no system. Professor Kalm has much that is good in his *Travels in North America*, and often cites

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<sup>1</sup> During Franklin's short visit to Germany in the summer of 1766 he met a number of the professors of the University at Göttingen. One of them, Professor Achenwall, published in the *Hanoverian Magazine*, in the volume beginning 1767, p. 258, etc., "Some Observations on North America and the British colonies from verbal information of Dr. Franklin," and this article was reprinted in Frankfort and Leipsic in 1769. There is a copy of this reprint in the Logonian Library, from which the following translation was made. There is a copy of the Magazine in the Astor Library, New York. It is of interest as showing the impression made by Franklin on his German auditors, although it is clear that Achenwall did not report quite correctly.—J. G. R.

Herrn Hofrath Achenwall's  
in Göttingen  
Anmerkungen  
über  
**Nordamerika**  
und über dasige Großbritannienische  
**Colonien**  
aus mündlichen Nachrichten des  
Herrn Dr. Franklins.



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Frankfurt und Leipzig  
1769.

ORIGINAL IN LOGANIAN LIBRARY.

Franklin, but did not altogether understand what he said, and Franklin never saw Kalm's book until he came across a German translation in Hanover.

The east coast of North America, where the British colonies lie, is generally colder than the countries on the same stretch in Europe, nor has it been observed that owing to the decay of forests and cultivation the climate is becoming noticeably milder. Almost the whole eastern coast of North America is sandy, many little islands along the coast are sand banks, thrown up gradually by the sea. The coast of Florida is sandy and unfruitful, but the interior is good land. The native Indians consist of many small nations, each with his own language, quite different from that of their neighbors. They are all of one figure as if descended from a common ancestor — all brown in color, with straight black hair, eyes all of one color, and all beardless, and they call Europeans the bearded nation. They live in the wilds, except a few that have been gathered in villages and are partly civilized. They live on plants and by hunting, without farms or cattle, chickens, horses, etc.

Before the arrival of Europeans, their important plants were Turkish corn or maize; a sort of beans; tobacco. Maize and tobacco are found only in America, and were brought from the new world to the old. Maize and beans they cook and use bear fat in place of butter as dressing, but no salt. Smoking tobacco is an old custom, especially at their national gatherings. These three plants they look on as a special gift of heaven. According to an old tradition, an American found a handsome young woman sitting on a hill — who in acknowledging a deep bow, said she came from above and at the end of a year would come again to the same hill. She was there again at that time, on her



right hand maize, on her left beans, and on her lap tobacco, and these three she left as a present for the American. Before Europeans brought them, there were no other grain or vegetables known than maize and beans, but all like the newcomers have increased wonderfully. The Spanish historian de Solis is altogether wrong in saying that Mexico at the time of the invasion was a populous and mighty state. The Mexicans were savages, without art or knowledge, and how could they form a great state? They had neither farming nor cattle and could not find food for a large population nor had they any means of transportation. The weapons of the savages in North America are bows and arrows, and they shoot with the teeth of wild animals. They recognize some of the principles of natural law and observe them even with their enemies. They scalp usually only the dead—then they cut the scalp off with a sharp weapon and keep it as a sign of victory. Sometimes the victim comes to life—some such are in Pennsylvania, for scalping is not necessarily mortal. They fight on foot, for they have no horses. The savages living in western Pennsylvania were called by the French Iroquois. The English call them the Five Nations or the Confederate Indians—they are united and were so long before the English settled. The Mohawks first united with another nation and others joined later. Now there are seven altogether so united. They have their regular stated meetings and their great council considers the general good. The members are known only by their different languages. They are called subjects of the king, but they are not subject to British laws, and pay no taxes, but the colonists give them a tribute of presents. Their number does not increase. Those living near the Europeans steadily diminish in numbers and strength. Their two sexes are of a cold nature—the

mothers live alone at and after the birth of children and during the years they suckle them — often (owing to the absence of soft food) until their young can eat meat. Small-pox and rum have played sad havoc among them.

The English settlements in North America have grown much more slowly than those in the West Indies, where they came about 1640, and in twenty years had flourishing colonies, such as Barbadoes. In North America the colonists came sixty years before, but at the end of the seventeenth century were small in number and in exports. This is due to the rich production of the Sugar Islands, the absence of Indians, and the contraband trade with Spain. The North American colonies have in the eighteenth century greatly increased in population and wealth, far beyond the West India Islands.

Franklin in a book published in 1751 showed that the native born foreigners double every twenty-five years; in addition is the steady emigration, and some colonies thus double their population in eighteen, some in sixteen, and some in fourteen years. This will go on as long as there is plenty of farm land, and this increases largely with the acquisition of Canada and Louisiana. In 1750 there were a million, Douglas in his book estimated that in 1760 there were 1,051,000, besides blacks and soldiers — on that basis in 1775 there will be two millions, and at the close of the eighteenth century, four millions. To attract foreigners, an Act of Parliament granted English citizenship to every Protestant after seven years' residence, a right that in England can only be obtained with great expense and trouble by a special Act of Parliament. The certificate of the provincial authorities costs only a few shillings and is good through all England.

Near the coast and some miles beyond, all the Middle

Colonies are settled, and new improvements are extending deeper in the interior. In Pennsylvania, where the Penn family own all the land, any one who wants to improve the land, chooses a piece, pays the landlord for 100 acres ten pound sterling local money, and binds himself to pay an annual rent of half a penny for each acre, he then becomes absolute owner, and the little ground rent can never be increased. Sometimes the hunter builds a wooden hut, and the nearest neighbors in the wilderness help cut the timber, build the log hut, fill the crevices with mud, put on the roof and put in windows and doors, and in return the owner pays them with a gallon of brandy, and by a like good service in turn. Then he lays out his garden and pasture and fields, cuts out the underbrush, tops the big trees and strips the bark, so that he can sow and reap, the trees die and hurt neither land nor crops. Many hunters have thus settled the wilderness—they are soon followed by poor Scotch or Irish who are looking for homes, these they find in this half improved condition, they buy from the hunters, get a patent from the proprietors, paying the usual charge. The hunter moves off into the wilderness and goes to work again. The Scotch or Irishman completes the half-finished task, builds a better house of sawed timber, uses the old log hut for a stable, later builds a house of brick and his timber house is a good barn. Scotch and Irish often sell to the Germans, of whom from 90 to 100,000 live in Pennsylvania, and prefer to put all their earnings into land and improvements. The Scotch or Irish are satisfied with a fair profit, put the capital into another farm, leaving the Germans owners of the old farms. In Pennsylvania there is no law to prevent cutting up a farm into very small holdings nor to forbid the purchase of very large bodies of land. There is no danger

from either course, for there is land enough for rich and poor, and the former prefer the larger profits from trade to the small return from land. In New England, unlike Pennsylvania, a good deal of land is let to farmers, for there are many rich owners of large estates, this is so too in the Carolinas, and in other colonies where owners of ten or twenty or more thousands of acres bring settlers at their own expense to improve their land. Kalm mentions similar cases in New York.

When an owner of land dies intestate, and there are many children to inherit the father's farm, it is generally taken by the eldest son, and the younger children get in money their share of its appraised value, the eldest son gets two shares, the other children only one apiece. The father of a large family takes from the proprietary a large tract of land, which on his death can be divided among all his children. In New England improvement of the land is made in a more regular way than in Pennsylvania, whole towns are laid out, and as soon as sixty families agree to build a church and support a minister and a schoolmaster, the provincial government gives them the required privilege, carrying with it the right to elect two deputies to the legislature, from the grant of six English square miles. Then the town or village is laid out in a square, with the church in the center. The land is divided and each works his own, leaving however the forest in common, and with the privilege of laying out another village in time. In this way new settlements grow in New England in regular order and succession, every new village touching on an old one, and all steadily increasing in wealth and numbers. Nothing of this kind is done in Pennsylvania, where the proprietor wants only to sell land and as much as any one wants and wherever he likes. The mistake of this was

shown in the Indian wars. On the border were scattered houses and farms, which could not help one another, and they were attacked singly, plundered and destroyed, and the ruined owners with their families took refuge with the older settlements, which became burthened with their care.

Blacks are found in Virginia, Maryland and the two Carolinas in large numbers, but very few in Pennsylvania and further north. In Pennsylvania, on principle they were prevented coming as much as possible, partly because there was no such hard work as they were fitted for in raising tobacco, rice and indigo. In Pennsylvania, every negro must pay a tax of ten pounds sterling and this the master who brings him must pay. These negroes are protected by law in all the colonies, as much as free men. A colonist, even if he is the owner, who kills a blackman, is instantly sentenced to death, if he overworks or ill treats his slave, the latter can complain to the judge. Then in their own interest the masters are obliged not to give their slaves excessive tasks or insufficient food, for their death is a loss. The negro slaves have all the general rights of humanity except freedom and property, neither of which they possess.

The free in the colonies are of two kinds, the one servant and maid, bound for a half or whole year, and the term ends by mutual agreement; the other class consists of poor Scotch, Irish and Germans, who to get to America come without paying their passage, and the ship captain finds them a master who pays it and thus secures their service for food and lodging and clothing, without pay, but only for a term of years, never for life. Sometimes a father sells the services of his children to a master, who must teach them some useful trade, farming, carpentering, cooking. This lasts until majority — with boys at twenty-

one, with girls at eighteen, and in some cases for eight years, but not longer. Then the children are by law free, and their master is bound to give them the needful articles for housekeeping, a cow, farming implements, tools, etc. In this way all poor children have the hope of establishing themselves on their majority in freedom. The poor fathers find their comfort in this expectation, are relieved of the care of their children in the interval, and know that they are learning something useful and will start out in life with money in hand without having to pay anything to the master. The masters in turn are satisfied with the cheap service. This law has been introduced to cure the old need of servants and apprentices.

There is a special class of servants in the colonies, between peasants and slaves, those transported from Great Britain for certain crimes for from seven to fourteen years. It is an exile from Great Britain under penalty of prison in case of return. Such an offender is sold by the courts to a ship's captain who takes him to the colonies and sells him as a slave for a limited period. That over he is free. Formerly such servants were welcomed on account of the demand for laborers, but now they are no longer needed in the populous colonies, they remain worthless and are soon sent to prison for fresh offences.

The constitution of the British colonies differ according to the original grants, (1) royal, (2) proprietary, (3) charter governments, and the British Parliamentary statutes call them plantations under proprietors, under charters, under his majesty's immediate commission, Stat. 6 Anne, cap. 30, sec. 2. The first class are arranged strictly according to the British Constitution, with a governor, who represents the king, and two legislative branches, first the council, called the royal council, second representatives of

towns or counties, belonging to one colony, these two are like the two houses of the British Parliament, and the council is called the Upper House, and the body of representatives of the people the Lower House. In these three branches are vested the law making powers of the colony, but subject to the crown, hence united they are called the assembly, although that title is popularly limited to the two houses and often to the Lower or popular House. The king appoints the governor and recalls him at pleasure. The council also consists of royal officials dependent on the king as to terms and nature of appointment, but generally selected from the principal persons of the colony, legal, financial and military officers. Governor and councillors have fixed salaries and certain fees, the governor a large fixed salary, provided in advance by the colonies, thus the Governor of Barbadoes has £2,000, the Governor of Virginia £1,000. The popular representatives are elected annually and receive a fixed per diem allowance. They look after the rights and privileges of the people, just as do the council and the governor after those of the crown. Every measure approved by the three bodies becomes a law, but only provisionally, for it must be sent to the king for approval, but if not vetoed within three years, it is final. This is the usual rule for colonial governments, (with some local exceptions) in all the West India Islands, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, both Carolinas, New Georgia, New Scotland, New Hampshire, and I believe Quebec, East and West Florida, and the newly acquired Caribbean Islands, and the English consider it the best way of securing the rights of the mother country, that is, Great Britain. The second class is that of hereditary proprietors, such as those of Pennsylvania and Maryland. In the former the English family of Penn, in the latter the

Irish Lords Baltimore are the hereditary proprietors and governors, as over lords they draw a certain income from all the colonists in proportion to their land, and all improved land is sold at a fixed price. Both tax and price are low, but the growth of both colonies has made both families rich. Lord Baltimore has the right of patron of all churches in Maryland. As hereditary Proprietors both appoint their lieutenant governors, who are confirmed by the king, and reside in the provinces. In both colonies there are assemblies—that in Maryland consists of the Council and the House of Commons, and subject to the right of the proprietor, has the same jurisdiction as that of any other colony.

The third kind of government is the chartered or free government. This is nearest a democracy, and is less dependent on the crown. This form of constitution exists in the three colonies of New England, completely in Connecticut and Rhode Island—in Massachusetts with certain restrictions. The two first named colonies have the right to elect all their own officers, including the governor and council, and to make all needful laws without royal approval, nor can the decisions of their courts be appealed from. In Rhode Island even the ministers of the churches can be removed at the end of a year, so that they hold office only for one year's salary.

Massachusetts Bay formerly had these popular rights, but owing to abuses their former privileges and freedom were repealed by the King's Bench under Charles the Second, and only partly restored by a new Charter from William the Third. Since then the King appoints the governor and the chief law and treasury and all military officers. The representatives have the right to elect councillors, but subject to a negative veto of the governor.



This election in Massachusetts as well as in Connecticut and Rhode Island, is made by both Houses, annually, because the members of the council hold office only for a year.

Laws passed by the assembly must have royal approval, and in cases involving over £300, there is an appeal to the Privy Council in London.

The Governor of Massachusetts has no fixed salary, but it is fixed every year by the Assembly. Kalm says this is so in New York also. He must therefore be popular with the assembly or the king will replace him by another likely to be so. This uncertain tenure is unpopular in Europe because it affects unfavorably the interests of the colony and makes that of Great Britain dependent on the colony. The colonists answer that a fixed salary would enable the governor to live abroad and send only a lieutenant governor as substitute.

Pennsylvania has its own constitution. Penn as proprietor draws a revenue of a half penny sterling local currency for every acre of improved land, and every purchaser of wild land can buy a hundred acres for £10 and the usual quit rent. As proprietor he sends a deputy, whom he pays, and appoints all judges, but ministers are chosen by their own congregations in every county. The meeting of the Pennsylvania Legislature consists of only one house (because there is no council) made up of representatives of the various counties. These are elected annually October 1, each county holding its own meetings for the purpose, every inhabitant worth £50, resident for twelve years, has a vote, these meetings elect eight deputies to the Assembly, every elector is eligible, but mostly well to do citizens are elected. The county gives its representatives six shillings a day, but the deputies

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HESSIAN DRAGOON.  
(HESSE-CASSEL DRAGOON REGIMENT.)



have to spend more out of their own pockets. There is no bribery. Every voter deposits a written ballot, and the persons who have the highest number are declared elected. The purchase of votes would be very unsafe, as the voter could always write another name on his ballot. This house with the lieutenant governor is the law making power. The governor however depends on the assembly for his salary, as he has no fixed allowance, which is voted only from year to year, and if he displeases the assembly, it votes him no salary for the next year. The assembly has been for six years on bad terms with the proprietor and has made no grant for the governor. The assembly wants the proprietor to pay tax on his property especially towards the extraordinary war expenses. The decision rests with the king in council, but if the assembly appealed, it would be sent to the King's Bench. The fact that all judges are appointed by the proprietor, makes difficulties, as he is in his own cases both judge and plaintiff. The newer colonies have institutions based on acts of Parliament for New Georgia and New Scotland, but the older colonies have charters from the King, and not from Parliament. These colonies claim to be subject to the King, but not to Parliament, at least not to its arbitrary power, like the newer colonies, which owe their existence to Parliament. The latter are called plantations within his Majesty's dominions, the former his Majesty's plantations.

The legal institutions of the colonies are based on those of England, for these are part of the Englishman's rights. All personal relations are controlled by statute law and common law. Roman law is recognized only in courts of admiralty. The right of trial by a jury of twelve men is recognized just as in England. It was one of the grounds of complaint against the Stamp Act, that questions arising

under it were not tried by jury, but by courts specially created.

Most of the colonists of English descent are Presbyterians. There is not one bishop of the Established Church in America, although there are many parishes belonging to it. These are all under the Bishop of London, and every one of their clergymen must be examined and ordained in England, at a cost of at least £40 to £50, but their stay in England helps their education. As the bishops have spiritual jurisdiction, there are no ecclesiastical courts in the colonies, and matters pertaining to them are settled partly by local courts, partly by the assemblies. The spiritual lords have proposed to send a bishop to America, but since the time of Charles the First, that title has been greatly disliked in the colonies. Catholic churches are found in Pennsylvania as well as in Maryland, in the former because freedom of religion is universal, in the latter because the Baltimore family, the proprietors, were formerly Catholics, none are found in the other colonies. There are Jews in Pennsylvania and New York, in the latter there is a synagogue, in the former only schools. Pennsylvania is preëminent for the entire religious equality or toleration, under which it has increased in population and wealth. Roman Catholics are however excluded from all offices and from the assembly, because they cannot take the usual religious oath and subscribe under the test act. This oath must be taken here as well as in England, as well as that against the Pretender. All other Protestant faiths enable the members to hold office. For education in science there has long been a high school in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and there is another founded in 1749 in Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania. Franklin proposed and founded it. The money

was raised partly by subscription, partly by provincial grants. Most of the endowment consists of land, not very productive, but of value hereafter. This university has a president with £250 salary, and four professors—two with £200, two with £150, besides fees for private instruction. There is no college and therefore no lodging built yet. It has the right to confer degrees. In 1764 a medical school was added, and it will no doubt have the power to confer degrees. There is no law school yet and it is not likely there will ever be one of theology. The university was chartered by the assembly for the good of the colony, but as there are so many religious faiths all enjoying perfect equality, it is enough if the scholars are taught their religious tenets in their own schools with those of their own faith, while theology is excluded.

Farming, stockraising and fisheries flourish in all the North American colonies, and the forests supply all that is needed for fuel and industry. Grapes are successfully cultivated in North America and wild grape vines are found in some forests. The cheap wines from Canary interfere with the production. Silk can be cultivated and mulberry trees grow as far north as New England. Cod fishing is more valuable than a silver mine, for it trains up good sailors and helps many industries. New England, New Scotland and Newfoundland are most largely interested in it. Colonists have the same fishing rights in these waters as Englishmen. The largest market is Spain and Portugal. These Catholic countries are large consumers, and the fishermen often bless the Pope.

The French fisheries since the recent peace have greatly diminished in extent, but the French take a good deal of the trade, as their own consumption is supplied by French fishing fleets. The New England fishermen sup-

ply Portugal, Spain and Italy at a cheaper rate than the French.

Whale fishing is increasing, and the Island of Nantucket owns hundreds of ships in this industry. It stretches from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on the coast of Greenland, as far south as Florida. Beasts of prey do little harm — bears and wolves rarely injure men, and bear meat is much liked. Deer are plentiful and buffalo are easily found and can be tamed and used, as in Asia Minor, Persia, Egypt, Ethiopia and the East Indies, as draught animals. Kalm praises the sugar maple and took some of the young trees to Sweden. The sugar can replace that of the West Indies, although it has not yet done so. The bounty on pearl and potashes has made a large industry — over a thousand tons are annually produced.

Shipbuilding is growing greatly in the North American colonies. Ships are all built of oak, some for use at home, others for sale in England.

Pennsylvania is mainly farming and cattle growing, just as are most of the German countries. It has little fishery trade, as it has a small coast, and it has no products that can be used largely in commerce.

The growth of the neighboring colonies is due to their fisheries, tobacco, rice and indigo. Pennsylvania flourishes on its farming and cattle. Horses are raised in some colonies, but it is better to raise oxen, which can be used for twelve years and then killed or sold.

The farmers are industrious and frugal, educate their families, and are growing rich in land, if not in money.

Manufacturing of wool, flax, iron, steel and copper, is growing — field pieces, rifled guns for hunters, and iron cannon are all made in the colonies. England does not interfere with domestic production, but it prevents exporta-

tion, and does not allow hats to be made, lest the English production, although made of American beaver, should be lessened in demand in the colonies. There is little ground for fear of American competition, as workmen are few there, and farming is always preferred to trades. Farmers are good fathers, and large families help economical living. Even if manufacturing increases, it cannot keep pace with the increase of population and the demand for goods. In thirty-four years the population of Pennsylvania increased fourfold at most, but the importation of English wares increased from £16,000 sterling in 1725 to £268,000 in 1757, that is seventeen times greater. Four times the population uses much more than four times, really seventeen times more goods, because the population grows more rapidly in wealth than in numbers. Manufactures must in time be established in the colonies, because with their prosperity likely to increase for centuries to come, England and Ireland cannot supply all the wares needed and the colonies must provide them for their future necessities.

The three largest cities are Boston, New York and Philadelphia. In 1720 the first was as large as the other two together, but since then they have grown faster. In New England there are many seaports, but the only ports for New York and Pennsylvania are their two capitals, and they are likely to be the largest cities in America. Philadelphia has more than 3,000 houses, and more than 20,000 inhabitants. It is regularly laid out at right angles, and the streets extend every year.

Virginia has the fewest villages and only one little town, Williamsburg, its capital. The population is scattered and every family lives on its own tobacco plantation. The Chesapeake and its affluents reach everywhere and the colonists bring their tobacco by water to the bay, where it is loaded on sea going vessels.



New York has great advantages for trading with the native Indians, by means of the Hudson to Albany, and thence by smaller streams to Oswego and Lake Ontario, where the great fairs for dealing with the Indians are held. From Lake Ontario there is water way to Lake Superior. The Indians bring their skins and hides from the west by water to Oswego, and New York excludes traders from Pennsylvania. Philadelphia trades with New Jersey over the Delaware River. Salt is imported in fifty or sixty vessels from Spanish South America and the Cape Verde Islands and Senegal, where it is made from salt water, by drying in the sun.

The colonies are greatly restricted in their export trade, yet they have their own vessels, but they are not allowed to export their products, especially those needed for shipping, such as masts, ship timber, iron, copper, hemp, flax, cotton, indigo, tobacco, tar, potash, skins and furs — they must all be sent to England and sold there for export in British ships with British sailors, and where there are English trading companies, as in the East Indies, the colonies cannot trade directly. In 1765 the trade with the Spanish and French West Indies was forbidden, but the results were so bad that this restriction was removed. The colonies ship food stuffs to the Portuguese sugar islands, meal, butter, meat, grain, wood and timber for house building, etc., and bring back molasses, from which Rum is made. Trade with the Spanish Americas is contraband, but the colonists run the risk for the sake of the hard money it brings. Great Britain in 1766 established two free ports in the West Indies, one in Jamaica, the other in Dominica, the French have one in St. Domingo, the Dutch one in St. Eustache, the Danes one in St. Thomas, the English want to prevent the contraband trade with Spain, but have

made the restriction that foreigners can receive all goods free of duty, but must sell only for cash, and not in exchange for other goods.

Colonial shipping is important through the trade with the Spanish and French West Indies, the English sugar islands, and the fisheries. It deals with the regions south of Cape Finisterre, with Africa, the Canary and other islands, and in British ships with Cadiz, Malaga, Marseilles, Leghorn and Naples, and it might deal with Turkey. It carries the surplus products of the fisheries, grain, flour, timber, sugar and rice. The trade with Portugal is restricted because all its wine must be brought by way of England, so only salt as ballast is brought back. Sugar is the only cargo which the colonial shipping can carry and sell through Europe. England reserves the right to import and reship American products, yet it sells more than three million pounds and Ireland and Scotland two million pounds sterling of products in America. Hard money is rare in the colonies, and is higher in price than in England. An English shilling is 18 pence colonial, as against 12 pence in sterling. A guinea is 34 shillings, on account of its convenience for exchange for goods. Spanish pieces of eight, worth in England 4 shillings 8 pence, are worth in the colonies 7 shillings 6 pence, and gold pistoles have fallen to 27 shillings, because they are so often filled with base metal. A credit on London costs 175 p. c., that is 1 English pound sterling  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in Provincial currency, but the price rises and falls, par is  $133\frac{1}{3}$ , but it often goes up to  $166\frac{2}{3}$  p. c. During the late war par was as low as 125, because England spent so much money and so much was brought over by English soldiers, and it varies in different colonies. The colonies have paper-bills, bills of credit and currency, issued by the authority of the Assemblies which

bind themselves to redeem them, from £5 down to 1 shilling, but they are not good outside the province that issues them. It is used to raise large amounts for pressing needs, as in the French War to pay the soldiers, arm and clothe and feed them in the field. Sometimes the money is raised by currency bills which are taken in payment of taxes, etc. and are cancelled on return to the treasury office. This was copied from the English exchequer bills introduced in the reign of William Third by act of Parliament, but the English bills carry interest, and those of the colonies do not. Another sort of currency is issued to meet the demand for money on loan at interest, the current rate is 6 p. c., but these loans are made at 5 p. c., and the borrower must pay one tenth of the principal annually. Thus the colony can supply the means of helping farmers to buy cattle, agricultural implements, etc., and thus improve the land. The issues were made too freely in some colonies, and fell 15 to 20 p. c., and even more in the market. All the colonies used paper currency, until in some the English government restricted its issue by law to a fixed amount. The mother country did this to protect its trade from suffering loss. Pennsylvania restricted and regulated its issues also. The question has been much disputed as to whether such issues are advantageous or injurious, but it is still undecided. The taxes in the colonies are very light — in Pennsylvania and Virginia there is a tax payable in rent at a very low rate, to the proprietor in the former, to the crown in the latter colony, all other taxes are assessed by authority of the assembly — generally a land tax, of 6, 12, 18 pence up to 2½ shillings on the pound of rent, and incomes of professions and offices are taxed. There are no taxes on exports and imports or excise. There is a small light house tax on shipping. The Stamp Tax acts met

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PHOTO BY J. F. BACHSE, JUNE, 1890.

LOG CABIN NEAR STRASBURG, VIRGINIA.

BUILT BY HESSIAN PRISONERS. 1777-78.



universal opposition, the colonies claimed the right to deal with their own finances, they had accepted all other Acts of Parliament touching their manufactures and trade, limiting their freedom, but these did not affect them as much as this direct attack on their purses. The colonists would not admit that Parliament had the right to tax them. They claimed to be English citizens, and that no English community could be taxed without its own consent, that is through its representatives in the House of Commons, but the colonies have none, such as the Scotch have, but only their own assemblies, there only can taxes be legally levied. Their money should be used to pay their own debts, not the national debt of Great Britain. The last war put a heavy debt on all the colonies — this ought to be first paid. The colonies maintained at their own expense, 25,000 men against the French, costing each colony yearly 20, 30, 50 and more thousands of pounds, when this debt is paid, the Crown would have the right to require the colonial assemblies to raise a similar loan. All the colonies were unanimous on this point, and for the first time met through their delegates in a congress called to object to the Stamp Act, and this they did on the right of English citizens to petition against any measure they think wrong, and this right is ensured to any number, whether it be 2 or 100 or 100,000.

There are few fortified places in America. Philadelphia is quite open to attack, and has only one battery on the river, to protect the city against invasion. There are a few forts to protect the settlers from the Indians. The provinces have their own militia, maintained at their own cost, the King appoints the officers. New England has the largest body of militia, and the little forts are manned by these troops under the King's commanders. There are English

regiments in North America garrisoning the large forts, these are paid by the Crown. The English like to serve in America, for they are paid in English sterling and are supplied by the local authorities with provisions. The conquest of Canada is advantageous alike to the English nation and to the colonies, for much of the expense of maintaining troops and forts is no longer required. England supported 25,000 men in the colonies, and the colonies as many more in the last war. The royal rule in America, when in harmony with the colonies, is inexpensive in the older colonies, for the King's Cabinet rules by a stroke of the pen. The colonies are well pleased that France handed New Orleans over to the Spanish. The Indians are sworn foes of the Spanish, who are neither so intriguing nor so industrious as the French, and hence England can keep on better terms with the Indians.

The general agreement of the colonies as shown in relation to the Stamp Act, is the more noteworthy, as the colonies have generally been jealous of one another. There are many disputes between them as to their borders, rivers, trade, etc. If the Colonies were entirely independent, they would soon be at war with one another. Only the protection of the King and his authority prevents open outbreaks. This jealousy increases with the growth of the colonies. Pennsylvania gets along best, for it leaves all trade both import and export open to all other colonies, only making such restriction in its own favor as may be needed to meet restrictions laid on its trade by other colonies, but all laws of this kind require the royal approval.





## Appendix A.



The Wiederhold Diary includes among eighteen drawings and maps, plans of the battles of White Plains, King's Bridge, Trenton, Savannah, and plans of Dumfries, Winchester and Fredericksburg, Va., of Reading, Pa., in 1779, when that city contained 400 houses.

It is scrupulously accurate in military matters and gives minute descriptions of the people, manners, customs, products, commodities, prices and other features observed during his extended tour after his capture with Rall's Brigade at Trenton, through Pennsylvania to Fredericksburg and on return to New York. Taken a prisoner by a privateer, he was sent to Reading, paying 15 Spanish dollars for a covered wagon for the journey of 55 miles from Philadelphia. With him were the Colonel and Major and other Field and Staff officers of the regiment — for the baggage transportation they had to pay 320 Continental or paper dollars. The first night was spent at the Ridge in Roxborough; next day they passed Barrenhill where in 1778 Lafayette had a fortified camp with 6,000 of the best American troops and 150–200 Indians, yet allowed his position to be turned. That night was spent at another tavern beyond the Perkiomen. The next day they reached Reading. The Colonel, Major, Captains, Lieutenants, under charge of the American Lieutenant, Honnymann, lodged at the Independence Hotel — and, with very poor meals, the bill amounted to 376 Continental dollars. The officers hastened to get into a private house,



costing a guinea a month, at John Kendall's, a weaver. The winter was very severe. A Squadron of Light Dragoons under a German Captain, v. Heer, a Bayreuth man, had their winter quarters in Reading. Their uniform was blue coats with yellow facings and vest, leathern breeches and caskets. In March they were joined by another Squadron of Armand's Corps, like Heer's, all German deserters. Finally in November exchange was arranged and the German prisoners gladly left 'godforsaken Reading' for New York. They spent the first night at Richards' Tavern — the host was a Rebel Colonel and a very honorable fellow. December first they spent the night at Jacob Wagner's, very poor quarters, in Goshehope. The next night at Col. Kùchlein's, a German, and went to Col. Irvan's Plantation near London Ferry on the Delaware. On the 3d to Pits Town, on the Raritan River, and were refused quarters by Thomas Jonas and had difficulty in getting rooms in scattered houses. On the 4th passed through Potters Town and the North Branch of the Raritan, got a good meal at Mr. Berhard's, and the night meal and lodging at Little Brook at Mr. Kuling's. On the 5th reached Elizabethtown and found good quarters at Martin's Tavern.

On the 6th by boat to New York, and on the 7th were quartered in the Bowery, glad to be again with their countrymen, and free from the ill-behaved and ill-bred people of Reading.

## APPENDIX B.

Popp's Journal owes its principal value to the three capital maps bound up with it—(1) of the Hudson from Fort Constitution to Esopus, showing the operations of General Clinton in September and October, 1777; when among the losses on the royal side were his adjutant, Count Grabowsky. (2) The plan of the landing of the Brothers Howe where the Elk River falls into the Chesapeake, with the advance of Knyphausen to Cecil Court House, and that of Cornwallis to Head of Elk, and their junction at Pencader. The map covers the territory from Salem on the Delaware to Baltimore, Chester and Ephrata and Manheim and Lancaster, to the Susquehanna, with a sketch of the positions at the Battle of the Brandywine. (3) A plan of Philadelphia and vicinity, including Frankfort, Germantown, Merion and Darby, and the attack on Fort Red Bank, with the unsuccessful attack in which Donop and Minnigerode were wounded, with view of the Forts where the Delaware is blockaded. They are evidently the work of a good German military engineer. One of them is reproduced at Chapter III., pp. 18-19.







THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY,



THE DAY'S WORK.

# The Picturesque Quality of the Pennsylvania German

AN ADDRESS, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS  
PRESENTED AT THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

BY  
WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON



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1904

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W. H. R.

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

1904



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## THE PICTURESQUE QUALITY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN.



**T**HERE is a phase of the life of our honored ancestry and of our respected contemporaries that has received little, if any, attention from those of the Pennsylvania-German Society who delight in exploiting the manifold excellencies of the Pennsylvania-German.

Many have been pleased to extol his bravery as a soldier; his wisdom as a statesman; his thrift as a farmer; his honesty in a position of trust—all these virtues have been “advertised by loving friends.” Even the triteness of his proverbs and the flexibility or the poetic capacity of his language have received their meed of praise from thoughtful and gifted admirers. I would like to present what may be termed his “Picturesque Quality.”

I have no doubt but that, in the development of my subject, there will be many suggestions or illustrations that are commonplace; but it would be well to remember that Millet's world-famous paintings of the Barbizon peasants and their country are pictures of commonplaces, and the

fact that we are familiar with them does not change nor abate their picturesqueness. Here in our own Pennsylvania are to be found the types of men and women we have seen in noted pictures, and it does seem a bit singular that American artists have not made diligent use of the pictorial value of these, our neighbors, and their surroundings. Hundreds of painters flock every year to Holland, to France, to Italy, to put on canvas no better, and often less interesting, material than can be found in the sections I would have you see with me.

I think my awakening to the fact that one need not go abroad to be abroad was brought about once while a friend and myself were touring southeastern Pennsylvania as tramps, sleeping in barns and fattening on the proverbial hospitality of our Pennsylvania-German friends: we stopped a small boy to inquire about the road and instead of an answer he gave us a most elaborate grin. He could not speak English. An older sister who had had the advantages of a common-school education presently appeared and relieved the awkwardness of the situation for all of us. A little further on in the same journey we made the acquaintance of another fellow-citizen who, we learned, was sixty-five years old at the time, a scion of a family which had its origin in America not many years later than 1700. He was born in the house in which he still lived. Some folks might have thought him conservative to a fault, for he could not speak English either, nor had he ever ridden on a railway train — although the puff of a passing locomotive in the valley below was plainly audible at his house. This gentleman was then the owner of a magnificent collection of antiques, the legacies of two lines of his forebears, and the great pride of his life was his trust that there would be a big “vandoo” after his death.

Roughly speaking, the segment of a circle described from west to north of Philadelphia, taking that city as the center, and with radii seventy-five miles long, will comprehend that magnificent agricultural country which was peopled by the Palatine immigrants who commenced to occupy it in 1683, and which is mainly populated by their descendants to-day. In that year a small party of Mennonites came over in the *Concord* and settled at Germantown, now a most picturesque suburb of "Penn's green city on the banks of the Delaware."

That was the first lapping of the tide which soon swept over the new land. According to our friend Governor Pennypacker, in his story of Germantown, it was the beginning of the infusion of "that potent race which in the sixteenth century, under the lead of Luther, confronted the Pope; and which has done so much to enrich, strengthen and liberalize the State of Pennsylvania and to establish those commonwealths in the West, where in the future will rest the control of the nation." Persecution at home and the prospect of an undisturbed right to worship God as they saw fit, turned the faces of thousands and tens of thousands of these Germans to America and nerved them for the awful horrors of the long voyage in loathsome and disease-infested ships.

Gradually the country beyond Germantown was settled by them, and to such an extent did they come that a certain historic hero was prompted to protest against the influx for fear they would set up a government opposed to the authority of England, which, he urged, they were quite able to do. It is in the country which these people opened up and which their descendants have held for more than two centuries that our picturesque Pennsylvania Rhineland is to be found, and therein are the most

wonderful opportunities for the man with appreciation in his soul and a snap-shot camera in his hands.

Within twenty-five miles of Philadelphia are large sections in which the dialect of the Lower Rhine has been handed down with such integrity that the speech of one of these farmers would pass current in the land upon which the eyes of his ancestors of eight generations ago first opened. There is a story that one of them once visited his ancestral home and that he gained an audience with the king, upon whom he deigned to pay a friendly call, through his vociferous insistence that the palace guards should *sag der Koenig das en Bauer von Pennsylvanien* wanted to see him.

But, apart from this peculiarity of language, I think one can recognize Pennsylvania-Germany, whether here or transplanted in some far Western State, by its barns, those big red structures in which the thrifty farmer stores his crops and houses his sleek cattle. In the "happy valleys" of the Swatara, the Tulpehocken, the Hosen-sack, the Perkiomen, or wherever else he has set up his house and put the stamp of his approval on the land, his "well-tilled fields give back a hundred-fold," and he needs a big barn for the liberal returns for his toil and good judgment. God, said a famous warrior, is on the side of the heaviest artillery; one may reverently paraphrase that observation and explain these beneficent dispensations of Providence in our local Rhineland by a disposition on the part of its habitants to mix plenty of work with their religion. You can drive for nearly two miles along one single Lancaster county corn field, I have been told, and the same spirit which is the active principle of that sort of farming also directs the prosperity of scores of savings banks in the Pennsylvania-German capitals.





THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



GLIMPSES OF DOMESTIC LIFE IN PENNSYLVANIA GERMANY.





But there are many ways of proving my proposition that there is a wonderful wealth of picturesque quality here: and any one who has strayed into an old-fashioned Mennonite meeting will hardly need to be further argued with. One Sunday morning, in the upper end of Montgomery county, we were moved to take the road behind a wagon load of four black-bonneted sisters. The way led to a plain little meeting-house situated in the midst of a grove of great trees; the long rows of sheds were filled with teams; nearest the house were the four stalls in a special shed reserved for the use of the preachers. And what a revelation that step over the threshold disclosed! Looking across a sea of bobinet-capped heads to the preacher's bench, there sat behind the desk the four ministers, all elderly gray-headed men, with their long hair parted in the middle and combed smoothly down and curled over their ears. Hanging on pegs driven into the wall above and behind them were their big felt hats. One of the preachers was "lining out" a hymn from a century-old copy of "*Die Kleine Harfe*"—the favorite Mennonite hymnal—which the *vorsänger* (precentor) set to an ancient melody that would simply baffle any attempt to represent it in written characters; it was so full of evasive twistings and turnings that black and white could never render its subtle colorings. It must be borne in mind that artificial helps in a musical way are not tolerated, and so the *vorsänger* is a very important functionary in the congregation; the gentleman in the present instance had officiated at "meeting" for more than fifty years. Of course, Scriptural authority is quoted for the persistent shutting out of the organ.

After the hymn, one of the ministers read a selection from an old German Bible, and then another preached a sermon in the language all the members could best understand.

The remoteness of my Mennonite ancestry put the sermon somewhat beyond my comprehension, although it needed no knowledge of seventeenth-century German to take in the fact that he was a very forceful speaker. Without any so-called higher education, this minister was called from the plow to the pulpit; he was chosen in the usual method—that is, by lot from a number of candidates for the ministry. A paper bearing the words “this is the lot” was concealed by the bishop in one of a number of hymn-books corresponding to the number of candidates, and the calling came his way. The argument urged in favor of such a manner of making a choice is that God knows better than a partisan congregation just who is best adapted for His service in that capacity and He will lead the right man to the prepared book. To a congregation to whom learned degrees are no object the method is a very simple and convenient one, and after all it would seem to settle any question as to factional choice and congregational strife in such matters.

As may be imagined, the sermons preached at these meetings are presumed to be the result of immediate inspiration, and they often abound in homely similes and rather personal references. I recall that the speaker whom I have mentioned introduced into his discourse that day a very apt metaphor in which the president judge of our county court figured; there was a pun on his name that was used to point a moral for the good of Mennonite souls. This minister was a rather feeble-looking old man, and he opened his sermon in a faint but distinct voice, which he modulated in a manner that any educated orator might envy, and that certainly must have emphasized the earnestness of the message he brought to his audience. At times he would swell forth into a strain of great dramatic power,

and I noticed he did this particularly when the thirty babies in the congregation were fussing in chorus.

It is an unwritten rule, I was told, that a youngster is fit to be brought to meeting when he has attained to the age of five weeks, and from that time on he is taken by his parents until he is old enough to express a desire to walk alone in newness of life and to ask for baptism by the decision of his own mind. When these fretful youngsters got too vociferous, the mothers would carry their struggling offspring out into the vestibule of the meeting-house and there administer whatever attention was best suited to the infantile needs, and then return to their places in the room. As a thoroughly democratic institution a Mennonite meeting is certainly to be commended. Fancy a fashionable city congregation encouraging the development of the church-going habit in such style! From my seat in the married men's section of the room, I could look over at the rest of the family in the midst of the married women and note that questions of orthodoxy or heterodoxy were not worrying the plump little Mennonite who, from his mother's knee, crowed and flirted with our own diminutive and already baptized Lutheran bud. It is of interest to observe here, that the single men and single women also have their sections on opposite sides of the room, with the central area of married and elderly women separating them.

The first sermon over, everybody knelt in silent prayer; then there was another half-hour sermon by another preacher; then another prayer, and after that a third preacher spoke briefly, and the meeting "broke." The men reached their hats and coats from pegs in the wall or from the racks suspended from the ceiling the whole length of the room; the women but on their black

bonnets over their dainty white "prayer head-coverings"; then the teams drove up to the gate and the entrancing glimpse of an old world life was gone.

I believe I am not straining a point when I insist that we are indebted for so many of the beautiful things which our forebears have given us, to their environment in the fatherland. They had been nurtured in a country which abounded in the masterpieces of those marvelous Middle Ages; they had absorbed ideas that were far enough above mediocrity, and it was but natural that after they came here and when they had occasion to give expression to their labor in a lasting form, they did it with some grace—a method which seems to indicate that they heard Ruskin's message to the world long before he preached it. It is hardly necessary to elaborate this thought much further than to refer to the illuminated manuscripts that Dr. Sachse has told us about, the ceramics that Mr. Barber has so beautifully illustrated, and so many other of their productions which are sought after and respected in our own day and which have inspired other voluminous publications.

It is in line also to mention the consummate skill of some of those early workers in wood and stone, whose handiwork, thanks to the ruthlessness of the modern "committee on improvements," is getting to be more and more a matter of tradition. There are still a few old pulpits left in these early German churches, and how beautiful they are when compared with much of the work that goes into churches nowadays! Some of the big furniture factories would probably turn out as much in an hour as those forgotten artists who fashioned the Trappe or Bindnagel pulpits could in a year—but what a difference in the creations! This old workmanship shows a care for detail that is wonderfully painstaking; the mouldings are gouged or

chamfered or chiseled or carved by hand; the only way they could possibly be reproduced to-day would be by the same laborious method.

Before there was a Pennsylvania-German Society it has happened that unspeakable vandalism has entered men's souls and stirred them into building a "new, up-to-date church"; the stately old house had gone out of fashion. I know of a fine stone colonial structure that was out of tune with a congregation's notions of what a church building should be, so they tore down the old one and got exactly what they wanted — a red brick rectangular block of a house with meaningless finials at the corners of the roof and a spire that would disgrace almost any ordinary carpenter. In its unvarnished ugliness it crowns the hill-top to-day and vaunts itself in place of the old house. For two weeks they worked to dislodge the honestly built walls of the first masons; the small boys of the neighborhood played "soldier" with lances made of long sections of exquisitely carved mouldings, and a nearby farmer bought the high pulpit and turned it into a chicken house!

The old Trappe Church has been happily preserved from any such fate, although it narrowly escaped a miserable destruction at one stage of its history. The pipes of the famous Gottlieb Mittelberger organ have furnished "sinkers" for the fishing lines of the youth of a generation ago, or baubles for the sacrilegious relic hunters of more recent times; but through some oversight the long-handled *klingsäcke* with bell and tassel to awaken congregational interest in their purpose, were not absorbed by the profaners of the temple. As Governor Pennypacker has been the champion of the village of the Trappe, the discoverer of its historical importance, so to speak — so his gifted brother Isaac W. Pennypacker gave to the

world the well-known poem on the church and its reminiscences that was written when loving hands were not as tender with it as they are to-day :

“ O Church ! that of old proudly flourished,  
Upon thee decay gently falls,  
And the founders by whom thou wert nourished,  
Lie low in the shade of thy walls ;  
No stone need those pioneer sages  
To tell their good works to the ages ;  
Thy ruin their greatness recalls.”

Now I do not believe it is simply the historic flavor of this old building that interests visitors. People who know no more history than a fly, go up there and they do not need to have the attraction pointed out. The church, as you doubtless know, was erected in 1743, and it is of especial note to us as the scene of much of the labor of the Lutheran patriarch Muhlenberg's life. It is simple and graceful in form, and when we recall how little actual money was spent in its building — it was chiefly the handiwork of those who were to worship in it — it must appeal to us all the more strongly as a crystallization of their love and devotion ; it would be rank impiety to destroy it. From the pious inscription over its main doorway, wherein the names of some of its builders are apotheosized in the mellifluous tongue of the Cæsars, to the curiously wrought weather vane on the peak of the gambrel roof, the church stands for the virility of its builders and their inherent good sense of nice proportions.

Then, too, there are many exceedingly interesting specimens of early Pennsylvania-German architectural taste to be found in the communities that have been long indented with their life. Germantown alone has enough examples — such as the Johnson house, the Daniel Pastorius

house, the Wister House, and others — to make my case for me. Whether Pennsylvania-German craftsmen always actually did the work on these houses, I am not prepared to say, but certain it is that Pennsylvania-German money paid for them, and if our forefathers and foremothers were as careful then as they are now about getting what they paid for, it is a pretty safe proposition that those beautiful homes are models of their extremely good taste and expressions of their high artistic instinct. There are a number of old houses in Lancaster too that have always impressed me with their sense of coziness and quaintness. Many of you, perhaps, have seen those low one-story brick dwellings with dormer windows in the long-pitched roof, and if you have, I venture the observation that you also have admired the good judgment of the old-timer who believed not so much in building high up as in "big owet," and who preferred to furnish his household with some other exercise less laborious than stair-climbing. These houses are now surrounded by much later edifices: comparisons are easy to make; when one is out either for pictures or a house to live in, it wouldn't be difficult to make a choice, to my notion.

I fear that I have so deep-rooted a prejudice for what these ancient Pennsylvania-German carpenters have done, that I am almost ready to believe they couldn't make anything homely if they tried. You know an artist gets so subconsciously expert that he cannot make a false line or wrong perspective; one looks for polished rhetoric and beautifully rounded periods in his favorite author. You may recall the porch over the door to the Sisters' House at Ephrata — a few whitewashed boards, an arbor of foliage, and some blooming plants, these are the simple elements in a composition that has always seemed so wonderfully



pretty to me. Dr. Sachse has written and illustrated so much about the Ephrata folks and their doings that almost the last word has been said about every phase of their intensely interesting community — still I venture this example which made an exquisite picture for me one day, this humble doorway with its little closet window to one side, and the jars of home-made preserves standing therein giving back the sunlight in luscious transparent reds and yellows.

It was a very pretty habit among some of those early Pennsylvania-German home-makers to have a “house-blessing” carved on a stone in a conspicuous place, and in this connection I recall the rarely interesting house in which Peter Wentz and Rose Wentz started their lives together. They remembered that “except the Lord keep the house they labor in vain that build it.” So they caused a tablet to be carved and set in the solid wall where it could be seen by all who entered in :

P. W. R. W. JESUS KOM  
IN MEINE HAUS WEI  
CHE NIMMER MER HER  
AUS. KOM MIT DEINER  
GNADEN GÜD UND STELLE  
MEINE SEEL ZU FREED

A century and a half have passed since Peter Wentz and his good wife invoked this blessing on their house, but its snug and comfortable appearance to-day would seem to warrant the conclusion that the invocation had brought good within its walls. One event in its existence will always insure it a place on history's page, at any rate; it was used by General Washington and his official family

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



PLEASING EXAMPLES OF PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN ARCHITECTURE.



as headquarters for three days in October, 1777, and it was from that house that a general order was issued for thanksgiving for the surrender of Burgoyne.

Another picturesque adjunct of these old homes in the country was the bake-house—and, like a good many other things, it has spoiled for lack of exercise. It is so easy to buy bread, or a modern range, nowadays that the usefulness of a bake-house is forgotten. But what a wealth of artistic effort in a culinary way one of these houses suggests! Several years ago we sat down to dinner with our venerable and estimable friend Abraham H. Cassel; besides a lavish abundance of other food there were six different kinds of pie and cake on the table. Some time after I spoke to another friend about this sample of Pennsylvania-German opulence and he answered me by inviting me to go with him to his Berks county boyhood home, and I remember that among the delicacies which graced the table that day were twelve pies and custards and cakes, all different and appropriately furrowed or edged for purposes of identification before cutting into them. The good housewife afterward showed me into the pie section of her cellar and delightedly displayed the rest of her Thursday's baking; it was Sunday and there were still forty-three pieces of all sorts left for domestic consumption.

While I have the same good woman in mind, perhaps I may interject that she is keeping alive another nearly lost art in Pennsylvania-Germany. She is proud of the fact that she has spun the thread for a complete outfit of bed-linen for each of her marriageable daughters. What a dower it is! While at work on the last marriage portion I had an opportunity to take a flash-light picture of her at work one night; her occupation suggested to some one in

the party a conundrum which in English is, "What kind of tow cannot be spun?" The answer is, "applebutter." That doesn't sound very laughable, but when you hear it in the original it is better: *Vas fer varreck Komma net shpinna? Ludvarreck!*

"The genial current of the soul" is an easy thing to start flowing in such a company and from my note book of that night's experience, I glean another "choke": "*Vas fer en esel komma net rida?*" Then they laughed because they could never guess that it was a hornet (*hunesel*) that couldn't be ridden. *Vas gesht tsu der teer rei und glensicht net; vas gesht auf der ofa und fer brend sich net; vas gesht ouf der tisch und sham't sich net?* "Why, the sun!" The sun goes through the door and glances around not; he gets on the stove and burns himself not; and he gets on the table and shames himself not! The occasion was also the first time I was brought face to face with the problem that has been grappled with by some of our verse-makers, that of rhythmical translation into the "mundart" of Pennsylvania-Germany. Here is "Susanna," as sung by one of our hosts:

O Susanna!  
Weinet net fur mich!  
Ich komm't fun Alabama hier  
Tsu shpiela sticht fur dich!

It seems that one mention suggests another while dealing with this subject, and I cannot forego the other domestic arts of the women-folk that seem to help along my story. Is there anything more beautiful than a door-yard in Pennsylvania-Germany, with its riot of color from the "old-fashioned" flowers growing in the beautiful simplicity of no apparent arranging! Red and pink and white and purple hollyhocks in their richness of velvety hues, and blue-

flags and phlox, and sweet-williams, and fragrant honey-suckle stare at you from over the whitewashed pickets or straggle through the fence openings in luxurious abandon ! Then, like great dull gems, ripening tomatoes, balsam apples or cucumbers stud this wealth of lesser foliage. And later on, this profligacy gives place to other orders ; dahlias or hardy chrysanthemums keep the spot bright and cheerful almost until the day that the first snow comes to hide the wreck of yesterday's glory. The garden is also woman's realm in Pennsylvania-Germany ; she makes it, almost literally " from the ground up " ; and one of my blue-ribbon photographs is a stolen snap-shot over a garden fence in the Perkiomen region, of an unconscious copy of a study that Millet would have drawn had he seen it. I don't know that there is anything poetic about boiling soap either, but it is the province of the artist to idealize, and I have no doubt our painters of the American-Barbizon school could make something touching out of that characteristic harbinger of spring in Pennsylvania-Germany ; you know the Angelus was once irreverently dubbed " the Potato Diggers," and I presume a good painter with great gift of rhapsody could find a fetching name for a plein-air composition of an old woman in a brilliant kerchief stirring a smoking cauldron of her annual clean-up of the winter's fat scraps.

About the most comfortable spot in a Pennsylvania-German house is in the corner of the kitchen, the seat at the end of the *holz-kist*—and what creation of modern cabinet maker can conjure up such dreams of comfort as that ! A great fire-place, long since boarded up, because of the introduction of a modern cook stove, was the first cause for the existence of the wood-box, but the comfort of that particular corner was discovered and the wood-box

stays even if the fire-place did have to go. You need only to look at the polish on that section of the top of the chest and to observe where the paint is rubbed off the framework of the high mantel to know how magnetic the spot is. It is the favorite resort of the man of the house on a Sunday morning — that is, when the young folks have taken all the teams and he has reasonable excuse for staying home. Then he gets down the old Bible that his ancestors brought from Nuremberg and he finds in it the same refreshing interest that they did so long ago.

The world "with its ceaseless roar and roll" seems very far away from that seat on the wood-box, and we have been hardly pressed many a time by the man who sat enthroned on it, and who has had a thoughtful lifetime in which to find an appropriate text or scriptural argument for every exigency of debate. I remember once we were discussing the Chicago World's Fair, an event which our host denounced as a most disgraceful extravagance. "World's Fair! World's Fair," said he; "Vy, no Christian could go! Suppose, some time, you haf a Christian's fair; how many would go to it? All zis noise ant show ain'd right!"

In the opposite corner of the kitchen stands the grandfather clock, one of Hagy's masterpieces, and one of a collection of six which an old time progenitor had made for and bequeathed to his daughters, who in turn were to give them to their daughters and so on from one generation to another. In a closet alongside the clock is an old china tea set of wonderful delicacy and beauty. The cups are bell-shaped and are ornamented with a little blue flower. There is not a nick in any piece and not a piece missing, and it has an authenticated history running back for 125 years. Some day, when a new household fire is lighted, the venerable timepiece and that tea service will be part of

the bride's dower, along with the store of homespun linen that was finished, part of it, generations ago, and part of it the recent gift of a rarely accomplished mother.

In another room there is a closet full of the most valued porcelain treasures, row upon row, pile upon pile, dinner plates in dark blue; great trenchers decorated with those curious tulip designs; creamers and tea-pots whose curves and finish are not met with nowadays. These are the "best" dishes, and their use is coincident with Christmas or some other holiday or high social function.

It is curious to note how the early settlements of our forefathers followed the watercourses — and in that fact I find material aid in the further development of my theme. The streams that refreshed our Rhineland were naturally enough turned to utilitarian purposes from the very beginning. Oil, grist and fulling mills were essential in the domestic economy of the day, and time was when the Perkiomen, for example, kept a mill of some sort in full splash for every mile of its course — and most of these mills had good Pennsylvania-German names in front of them, too. Many of the mills are there yet — for millwrights of that generation were honest builders — although their occupation has largely faded away before the advance of modern competition. Almost the first thing that strikes the visitor to one of these mills is the apparent profligacy of building material, particularly of posts and girders. Timbers such as would hold up a present-day six-story structure, were used in a two-story chopping mill; the adze-marks of a century and a half ago may be covered up by the dust of ages, but the live-oak is just as good as ever.

"The old mill!" What a perennial and fruitful source of inspiration it has been to the poet; even the laureates



of Pennsylvania-Germany have been stirred into song about the dust-penciled cobwebs festooned from beam and rafter, the rhythmic "clacka-clacka clacka-clacka" of the damsel, the rumbling diapason of the masterwheel, the swinging, splashing of the great overshot. Even the miller himself with his proverbial golden thumb and other paraphernalia once considered so necessary to the conduct of a successful business, has been embalmed in many a sonnet, too. The mill-wheel was very picturesque, but it had its disadvantages; the poet ought to be on hand some cold winter morning, when everything was frozen solid, to hear an able-bodied fellow-citizen down in the wheel pit chopping things loose with an axe and making complimentary remarks about that *fdomda wasser-rote*. So the turbine has supplanted the old wheel to a great extent and the silvery spray, with the rest of the lyric accessories, has likewise departed.

The tourist who is being whirled across the Keystone State may occasionally catch glimpses of a curiously clad people at the railway stations at the city of Lancaster and the smaller towns and villages east of that place. Their homes are in the "green-walled" country watered by the wonderfully beautiful Conestoga, Cocalico and Pequea creeks, in sections that are not traversed by main highways of travel.

For instance, there is a man in an odd suit of brown or gray homespun; if it is winter, a long overcoat supplemented with a short cape reaching to the shoulders gives an added quaintness to his garb; from beneath his broad and straight-brimmed felt hat his long hair falls over the collar of his coat; a good pair of honest eyes set above a strongly fashioned nose look the truth which the man's finely chiseled lips are known to speak. The man is a

representative of one of the most curious survivals in all America, that peculiar organization known as the Amish Mennonites, a schism of the Mennonite church which seceded from the main body about the year 1693. Jacob Ammon led the movement, and so he and his followers in Switzerland and Alsace were known as "Amish," as are also those of these days who hold to the doctrines he insisted upon.

So far as language, manners, dress and traditions are concerned the present day "Amish" are foreigners in America; and to all intents and purposes the visitor to the hospitable community in which they have lived for many generations is far enough from home, too. The language one hears is almost the same as that of their far-off fatherland of two centuries ago; the dress of the women suggests Holland or Brittany; the religion, with its austerities and its curious practices and observances, smacks of the days of the Reformation. And, almost within sight of the hills which bound their peaceful valleys, the smoke of factory chimneys and rushing railway trains, tells of a busy world wherein people are panting and throbbing in the chase for riches or fame or some other unsatisfied ambition, while the Amish go on in their sincere way working out the destiny of the race as implied in the petition, "Thy kingdom come \* \* \* on earth as it is in Heaven!"

Pursuing our study of the picturesque, we drove one glorious summer Sunday up to the gate of a farmhouse in the land of the Amish on Conestoga Creek. We had been told that service was to be held there that day—religious services of that particular branch of the Amish Mennonites are not held in regular houses of worship; they are always held around among the homes of the members, because that is one of their ways of impressing on the mind

of the people the importance of religion as an every-day, a real, adjunct to life; and then, too, there is no temptation to the slightest exhibition of vanity about church architecture or church furniture in which the true spirit of religion might be lost sight of, when the entire system of church houses and decorations is altogether done away with.

And what a sight the lane leading into the farm-house, and the area-way around its great barn was! There were sixty-five yellow canvas covered wagons, as nearly alike — to the casual observer — as one Waterbury watch is like another. The sight suggested a wagon factory; and the collection displayed, the result of particularly enthusiastic effort on the part of the builders in turning out vehicles modeled after the same pattern. When we became better acquainted with the various owners, we asked how they ever distinguished their own property, how they managed to get the right horse affixed to his own shafts.

“Oh, we joost look at 'em; we know 'em!” was the answer. One man added that he recognized his wagon because the back of it was peppered full of shot-holes, a souvenir of a shooting match his boys had one day at home. Another said he had a little block nailed to the floor of his wagon for the comfort of his short-legged wife, and the block couldn't be moved without taking up the floor of the wagon. And so the fine distinctions were developed until the whole bunch of sixty-five wagons did appear different, after all.

The apparent absence of whips on the wagons was the occasion of some remark between us; but, prompted by one of the more jovial brethren, we looked in some of them and saw that a tough hickory switch was a part of their equipment. It must be remembered that the Amish-

# THE FARM.



AN ARTIST'S VIEW.

*The Pennsylvania-German Society.*

of the people the importance of religion as an every-day, a real, adjunct to life; and then, too, there is no temptation to the slightest exhibition of vanity about church architecture or church furniture in which the true spirit of religion might be lost sight of, when the entire system of church houses and decorations is altogether done away with.

And what a sight the lane leading into the farm-house, and the area-way around its great barn was! There were sixty-five yellow canvas covered wagons, as nearly alike — to the casual observer — as one Waterbury watch is like another. The sight suggested a wagon factory; and the collection displayed, the result of particularly enthusiastic effort on the part of the builders in turning out vehicles modeled after the same pattern. When we became better acquainted with the various owners, we asked how they could divide up their own property, how they managed to get the great horse affixed to his own shafts.

"Let me just look at 'em; we know 'em!" was the answer. One man added that he recognized his wagon because the back of it was peppered full of shot-holes, a souvenir of a shooting match his boys had one day at home. Another said he had a little block nailed to the floor of his wagon for the comfort of his short-legged wife, and the block couldn't be moved without taking up the floor of the wagon. And so the fine distinctions were developed until the whole bunch of sixty-five wagons did appear different, after all.

The apparent absence of whips on the wagons was the occasion of some remark between us; but, prompted by one of the more jovial brethren, we looked in some of them and saw that a tough hickory switch was a part of the equipment. It must be remembered that the Amish-

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



AT AN AMISH MEETING NEAR LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA.



man strictly observes the spirit of the injunction implied in the saying "A merciful man is merciful to his beast," and so one must travel far to find a handsomer or better cared for collection of equinity than was seen at Friend Aaron's that day; but that little hickory switch is useful when some Gentile owner of a roadster imagines he can drive around the big Amish bay and his half-ton or more of heavy harness, wagon and passenger list. In a "test of speed," as the brush is euphemistically termed, they do say that the dust does not often fall on the yellow-covered Amish outfit, even if the driver has no whalebone with which to touch up his nag.

The passengers of the sixty-five wagons crowded the two large lower rooms of the farmhouse, while the overflow filled the porch, where the droning voice of the minister preaching in German could be plainly heard. In one way it was good that we could not grasp enough of the discourse to keep us interested, otherwise the abounding richness of pictorial matter might have been lost. We sat on a plain wooden bench on the porch for a while; just opposite us in a row, were a lot of youngsters ranging from two to six years, whose conduct throughout the meeting was just as demure as if they had been ten times those ages. Beside us were big lusty Amishmen in their queer-looking clothes, sitting in thoughtful attitudes, following carefully every word spoken, although a few of the younger men, in whom the spirit was doubtless willing but the flesh weak, dozed and bobbed their heads, waking up with a start and trying to appear bright and unconcerned as they felt the gaze of an elder of the meeting resting upon them.

After one has been there himself, it is not so difficult to understand why the rest of the world knows so little about



the wonderful quaintness and the unique interest of this bit of Pennsylvania-Germany.

For conscientious reasons the hard-working farmers of the Amish persuasion give very scant encouragement to the man with pencil or camera and so the intensely picturesque quality of an all-day Amish meeting for instance, has been practically unrecorded until the pictures we made on the occasion here told about were surreptitiously "snapped." Now and then an Amishman strays into the larger cities, and people turn around on the streets for a second look at him and his clothes. But think of a hundred Amishmen in one group! all with broad-brimmed hats, long hair cut straight across the forehead — banged, a Gentile would say it was — and just as evenly trimmed at the back of the neck. Frivolous folk say that a bowl is used as a guide for the scissors of the domestic Amish barber. Every man wears a tail coat, with no lapels or buttons, hooks and eyes being the only proper means for fastening that garment, while his trousers are cut in the fashion of generations ago.

And what delight it is to get into an argument with them on the subject of dress, or the propriety of using tobacco or strong drink! Those superfluous buttons which a worldly tailor generally sews on the sleeves of a coat or at the middle of the back of a cutaway — survivals of the days when cloth cuffs were buttoned back and sword belts were worn — were seriously condemned as opportunities for "devil to hang somesing on." The retention of these vanities was abhorred by them, and they insisted upon the less conspicuous hooks and eyes so that his satanic majesty while searching for convenient places to display his temptations would, of course, be put to confusion. The Amishmen wears all the hair on his face that nature provides, except on the upper lip and that is shaven for the sake of

cleanliness in eating. Two verses from Leviticus settle the tonsorial question, in these words: "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard" (xix., 27). "They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard" (xxi., 5).

As to the use of strong drink, the well-known poser, "What do you suppose the Lord turned that water into wine for at the marriage in Cana of Galilee?" was the clincher with which they closed the discussion on total abstinence. "The one thing I am sorry for now is that I wasn't on hand to get some of that wine. My, but it must have been good!" said one, as he blew the smoke of a Lancastrian perfecto into rings above his head; and then he smacked his lips, perhaps in joyful anticipation of the glorious feast that is to be spread for all good and temperate Amishmen some day.

Of course, the meeting would not have been complete without the big dinner served to all the congregation, including the visitors. While the men were talking religion or crops or stock under the trees after the services were over, the women were getting the dinner ready. There was table room to serve the guests only in relays of about fifty. When they entered the house they threw their hats into a window seat until it was filled to the top of the lower sash. The hats were more nearly alike — if the expression may be allowed — than their wagons, but every one picked out his own head-gear unerringly when he went out.

Following the example of an elder at each table, every one bowed his head in silent prayer before starting in on the *shunka flesh*, *gebrota hinkel*, *lud-varreck*, *kucha* (ham, roast chicken, applebutter, cakes) innumerable, and other

choice products of Pennsylvania-German culinary art with which the tables were so bountifully laden. It simplifies the dish question very much, at these congregational meals, to use the same coffee cups and saucers right through without washing or rinsing them for each set of guests; custom has sanctioned the plan, and no one objects to the liberal deposit of coffee grounds and partly dissolved sugar in the cup when he comes to the table in relay number four, for instance. If a Gentile appetite should suffer on that account, however, it would receive on the other hand, a much more pronounced stimulus from the sweet-faced Amish girls who waited on the table and tempted the diner with the choicest of the homely delicacies. It is customary at the end of each meal to "return thanks" in silence, and after that service all file out of the great room to make room for another relay of hungry ones. The women in the interim make some few minor changes in the tableware and replenish the sadly depleted stock of eatables.

But the Amish children! Where in America are children as picturesque? The little ones have the same proclivities for fun that children display the world over, but their excessive quaintness is best appreciated as one sees them playing tag, or teasing the watch-dog, or chasing butterflies, or doing the thousand and one other pretty things good-natured children can do. They are dressed exactly after the pattern of their grandfathers or grandmothers, and it does seem so far beneath the dignity of those little ones to be cavorting around the yard and raising just as much racket as the veriest street arabs. As soon as the little Amish girl can walk she appears in skirts which reach to her shoe-tops, and a white cap, a white shoulder kerchief and a white apron add their unique finish.

The dresses are of various colors of stuffs, although each

girl's dress is the same throughout. Deep purple is much affected by the Amish women, while dark brown, drab and black are popular; so it may be imagined that wealth of color is not the least attractive feature in the artistic ensemble of an Amish meeting. There is only one style of wearing the hair among the women and there can be very little improvement on it. The hair is parted exactly in the middle and combed smoothly down toward the temples, where two plaits are started, carried around and gathered into a knot just under the edge of the white mull cap above the nape of the neck.

As soon as the Amish boy is entitled to his first trousers he is put at once into long breeches of the old-fashioned "broad-fall front" variety, with drawing-strings around the waist to keep them attached to his person, just as his father's and grandfather's are built. He starts in early also to get his hair in the style he is to wear it through life. It is rather difficult, ordinarily, for the uninformed to say whether the infant which a fond mother dotes over is a boy or a girl, but there can be no mistaking the sex of the juvenile Amish when the outward signs are noted. The boy has his hair cut square across at the back of the neck, while his little girl cousin invariably wears that becoming white cap. I recall a picture of four children—two demure little girls in charge of two smaller boys—which was captured during the progress of the meeting for the purpose of illustrating these peculiarities in dress; it showed, furthermore, a very pretty grace of behavior on the part of the children at a religious meeting; the boys sat next to next, between the two girls, and just as I snapped the shutter one of the boys was "making faces" at his neighbor, but before the imbroglio could reach an acute stage the little girls shifted the boys to the ends of the

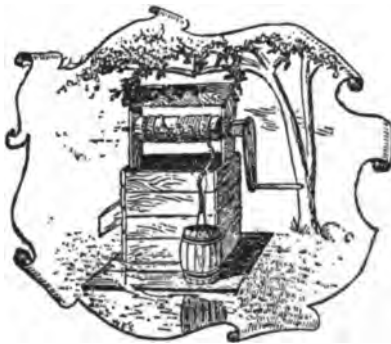
bench. Diplomacy was writ large in the scene, and the two photographic plates the incident cost were happily used.

It may be rather far-fetched to say that the greatness and richness of Pennsylvania-Germany are exemplified in the dressing of these youthful representatives of a "peculiar people." There is little Rebecca, for example, in a royal purple dress that has two tucks in the sleeves, one at the hips and two more just above the hem of the skirt. Diminutive Enoch has a tuck in the bottom of his trousers — the waistband is fastened away up near his armpits; his shirt sleeves are similarly shortened. As the youngsters grow, the clothes are lengthened to accommodate their increasing stature, and when they have outgrown the garments the tucks are restored and the clothes go to younger children. Doesn't it seem reasonable enough to believe that all the thrift of these Amishmen is good leaven in the great lump of modern extravagance, and perhaps, after all, their homely virtues of industry, economy and simplicity may be more and more emulated?

Oh, it is a rare country, this land of grandfathers' clocks and finger-itching crockery, this paradise on earth for tramps, this delightful Pennsylvania-Germany! In some of its remote sections are valleys peopled with ghosts; where spooks hold high carnival in dismantled powder-mills and abandoned houses and barns; where princes of story tellers are still to be found who can spin yarns about the shadowy denizens in a style that will almost curdle your blood; where you can hear of "charms" from a "seventh" book of Moses that, if rightly employed, will make one invisible to his pursuer and invulnerable to his foes; where incantations exorcise evil spirits and cure disease. And there are pages of its serious history upon

which you can read of a certain grimly humorous minister who, in the stirring days antedating the Revolution, got himself disliked for preaching a sermon on the text: "Better is a poor and wise child, than an old and foolish king, who will no more be admonished" (Eccles., IV. : 13). The story of "His Mother's Sermon" in Dr. Watson's Bonnie Brier Bush collection lacks the beauty and dramatic power of a real one that could be told of a young Lutheran clergyman who came here in 1793, whose trial, romance and life's great happiness were found in the peaceful valley that is still musical with "the Perkiomen, singing all the day."

But why multiply instances for you of Pennsylvania-German ancestry, when, out of the experience of most of you, you know that each memory-haunted community in this beautiful land is a "Glen" in an entrancing "Drumtochty," awaiting the glorifying pen of a sympathetic Mac-laren; a near-by Barbizon awaiting the immortalizing brush of an appreciative Millet.



















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